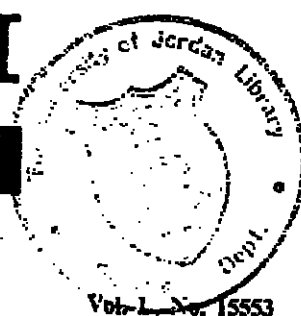


Monday, June 14, 1982



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## VAT up to 15%, stock, travel tax to pay for war

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

A 2 per cent tax on the sale of stock on the stock market, a 15000 travel tax on every Israeli leaving the country and an increase of Value Added Tax from 12 to 15 per cent — these are the principal measures decided on by the government yesterday to finance the war in Lebanon. They will be effective from tomorrow.

The government also decided that 3 per cent of the rate of increase of the consumer price index will not be included in the calculation of the cost-of-living allowance to be paid to wage earners next October.

The VAT increase includes imports, which means that an additional levy has been imposed on imports.

The Treasury decided not to go ahead with the planned reduction in

the rates of company taxes. Regarding payment of the taxes, the Treasury decided that the stock tax will be collected by banks and brokers at the time of sale and transferred by them to the Finance Ministry. Travellers will pay the 15000 levy at the point of departure.

All the steps taken are included in one general package called "Peace for Galilee Levy." They are covered by the emergency regulations, and thus do not need Knesset approval.

The regulations are to expire on July 31, by which date the Finance Ministry intends bringing them to the Knesset to be converted into law. That will make the package effective for the duration of the present fiscal year.

The only measure that will not be extended beyond next September is the 15000 stock tax.

Finance Minister Yoram Aridor (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## U.S. to seek withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon

WASHINGTON. — U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig called for the withdrawal of all foreign armies, including Syrian and Israeli troops, from Lebanon once it is clear that the cease-fire is holding.

It was the first time since Israel's invasion of Lebanon a week ago that a U.S. official has publicly and explicitly called for the withdrawal of Syrian forces, who have occupied part of the country since 1976.

Haig said in a television interview that the administration's first priority is to stop the bloodshed. Then it will seek a long-term solution re-establishing the sovereignty of Lebanon.

"Clearly, no one would welcome a return to status quo ante in Lebanon, with all the instabilities that we've experienced since 1976," Haig said. "I think we are going to want to work to achieve adjustments and the withdrawal of all foreign elements from Lebanon."

Whether the administration would be willing to send American troops to the area to participate in a peace-keeping force is "still a hypothetical question" not yet considered, Haig said.

At the same time, Haig and Israel's Ambassador to the U.S.,

Moshe Arens, who both appeared separately on ABC's *This Week with David Brinkley* programme, said that it was still "too early" to predict a timetable for Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon.

Arens said that Israel has no intention of withdrawing from Lebanon until it has created a situation "that will not permit" the PLO to fire on Israel.

A message from Washington reached Jerusalem yesterday urging Prime Minister Menachem Begin to "lower the profile of military reactions to violations of the cease-fire in Lebanon." Similar requests from Washington to stop the bombing have been voiced over the past few days.

In the Brinkley interview, Haig said that Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev has sent President Ronald Reagan a second communication about the outbreak of fighting in Lebanon, and that Reagan replied on Saturday night.

"It was a continuing expression of concern on the part of the Soviet leadership about the potential dangers of a spreading of the violence and we share that concern ourselves," Haig said. "I would describe the Soviet attitude thus far as being encouragingly cautious." (AP, UPI)

## Khaled laid to rest, Mubarak due in Riyadh

By DAVID BERNSTEIN  
Post Middle East Affairs Reporter

King Khaled of Saudi Arabia was buried last night in a simple ceremony attended by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, King Hussein of Jordan, and several other Arab heads of state.

President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and the leaders of Sudan and Oman were scheduled to arrive in Saudi Arabia today for talks with the new leaders of the desert kingdom.

Khaled, 69, who had a history of heart trouble, died of a heart attack yesterday morning in the mountain resort of Ta'if, where he had just arrived from Riyadh to spend the summer.

He is succeeded by Crown Prince Fahd, who will receive the bay'a, or pledges of support of his people, at a special ceremony scheduled for today. The new Crown Prince is Abdullah, commander of the Saudi National Guard.

Reports from Riyadh last night suggested that the Arab leaders attending the funeral will take advantage of their presence in the Saudi capital to hold an impromptu "summit" on the two issues of most concern now to the Arab world — the situation in Lebanon, and the Iran-Iraq war.

Mubarak's presence will mark

the first visit of an Egyptian president to any of the 17 Arab capitals that severed ties with Cairo after the 1979 peace treaty with Israel.

Earlier, Mubarak eulogized Khaled as "a far-sighted leader who died at a time when Arab and Islamic countries are in dire need of his wisdom and astute appreciation of issues," and a 14-day period of mourning was declared in Egypt.

Saudi relations with Egypt have improved since Mubarak came to power eight months ago, and there have recently been rumours in the Arab press that Riyadh is contemplating a restoration of diplomatic ties with Cairo.

Saudi Arabia has so far taken a leading role in Arab attempts to mend fences with Egypt, which it apparently would like to draw into some form of regional alliance of moderate Arab states against a perceived threat from Khomeini's Iran.

(For profiles and background, see page 5)

## Latest official death-toll: 108

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Israel Defence Forces spokesman yesterday released the official casualty figures in the operation to date. There were 107 dead, 840 wounded, 18 missing and one prisoner.

It is believed that the death toll is in fact higher, and yesterday *The Jerusalem Post* reported that more than 130 had died in action.

During the fighting over the weekend, 16 soldiers were killed, and 176 wounded. Of the total 840 wounded, 106 were described as seriously wounded, 198 moderately wounded and 536 lightly wounded.

Another 36 soldiers were buried yesterday in military ceremonies all over the country. Segen Nahum Goldberg, 24, a paratrooper officer, was killed in the South Lebanon fighting. He was buried at the Mt. Herzl military cemetery in Jerusalem. Goldberg was married only six months ago. Also buried at Mt. Herzl was

# IDF-Christian link reported



Yasser Arafat (right), head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, walks with two aides to his headquarters somewhere in Beirut yesterday. Behind him is his personal bodyguard. This is the first time since the start of the current fighting in Lebanon that Arafat has been photographed. (UPI telephoto)

## Israel to hold area pending new DMZ

By BENNY MORRIS  
and ASHER WALLFISH  
Jerusalem Post Reporters

The territory seized by the Israel Defence Forces in Lebanon last week beyond the projected 40-kilometre demilitarized zone will serve as a bargaining counter in the course of the negotiations to make sure that the zone is defined and policed, the Cabinet was told yesterday.

The IDF will remain on the present cease-fire lines until the progress of the negotiations gives the government the necessary assurance that the new political arrangement it seeks in South Lebanon is taking shape, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir told a Gali Zahal correspondent.

Shamir implied thereby that a staggered withdrawal process is possible, from the present lines towards the 40 km. mark, to match the extent of agreement secured in the negotiations. Shamir said that the government has to be sure the PLO will not come back to the areas the IDF is occupying, and that the PLO will not be allowed to rebuild its terror infrastructure there.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin, and his cabinet committee of seven set up to pilot the negotiations for the post-cessate-fire phase

met yesterday with U.S. envoy Philip Habib, and presented him with what the cabinet communique called "a basic proposal regarding the arrangements for the future."

Israeli cabinet sources said last night that Habib's reaction to the Israeli proposals is "not negative." Habib last night reportedly urged Israel not to fire back at Palestinian positions in Beirut.

Habib flies to Damascus today. But little real progress can be expected on "arrangements for the future" until Begin visits the U.S. in a few days.

Officials in Jerusalem stressed to *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday that Israel is "taking the diplomatic initiative" by being the first party to present proposals for solving the crisis.

The proposals as approved by the cabinet include both fundamental principles and specific arrangements. Among the principles are: Israel's call to sign a peace treaty with Lebanon; the need to stop Lebanon from serving as a centre of terrorism; the assumption by the Lebanese government of responsibility, along with other parties, for demilitarization and related agreements; and the need to remove the PLO from Lebanon.

Another fundamental principle is (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Israel forces isolate PLO, move into Beirut suburb

By DAVID BERNSTEIN  
Post Middle East Affairs Reporter

Israeli troops and tanks moved into the Beirut suburb of Baa'bda last night to link up with pro-Israel Christian forces and close the circle around the PLO.

Lebanese government officials and the state-run Radio Lebanon reported the Israelis moved into Baa'bda without resistance from Lebanese army units based in the suburb.

The Lebanese presidential palace is in the district, but the Israelis reportedly did not try to take it.

Lebanese government sources and the right-wing Christian Voice of Lebanon radio station both reported that Israeli forces occupied a military hospital, a military courthouse and a Lebanese army barracks in Baa'bda.

The suburb is eight kilometres from the centre of Beirut and straddles the demarcation line separating Moslem and Christian sectors of the capital. It also is on top of the main highway leading out of Beirut to Damascus.

The capture of Baa'bda, the Reuter correspondent notes in last night's dispatch from Beirut, will effectively trap the Palestinians in Beirut.

Beirut was once again the scene of heavy fighting yesterday as the fragile cease-fire that went into force on Saturday night broke down after less than 12 hours, giving way to heavy artillery duels between Israeli and PLO positions south of the capital. This was followed by Israeli air strikes on PLO targets in west Beirut and around the city's international airport.

The cease-fire with Syria in effect since noon Friday, appeared to be holding yesterday, although reports from the Syrian-Lebanese border suggested that the Syrians are continuing to send fresh troops and equipment into Lebanon.

PLO sources in Beirut are quoted (Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

## Fighting with PLO as Syrian front stays quiet

By HIRSH GOODMAN  
Post Defence Correspondent

The cease-fire with the PLO, declared unilaterally by Israel Saturday night, has broken down.

All day yesterday and most of Saturday night Israeli and PLO artillery exchanged fire, with the PLO using Katyusha rockets yesterday afternoon. There were Israeli casualties.

At 2.00 p.m. the Israeli Air Force was called in against terrorist positions in south and south west Beirut. The attack, which lasted 45 minutes, was described by an Israeli Defence Forces spokesman last

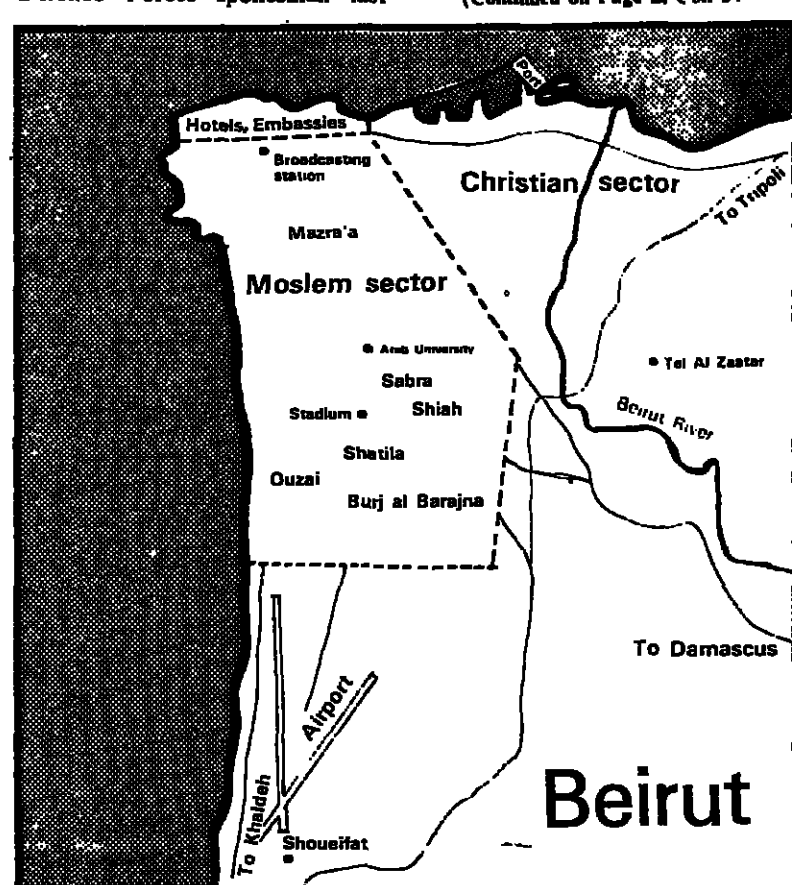
night as "not particularly heavy." He refused to divulge further details.

Apart from the Beirut area, the cease-fire held. No clashes were reported with the Syrians, and both sides spent yesterday and Saturday improving their positions and re-supplying.

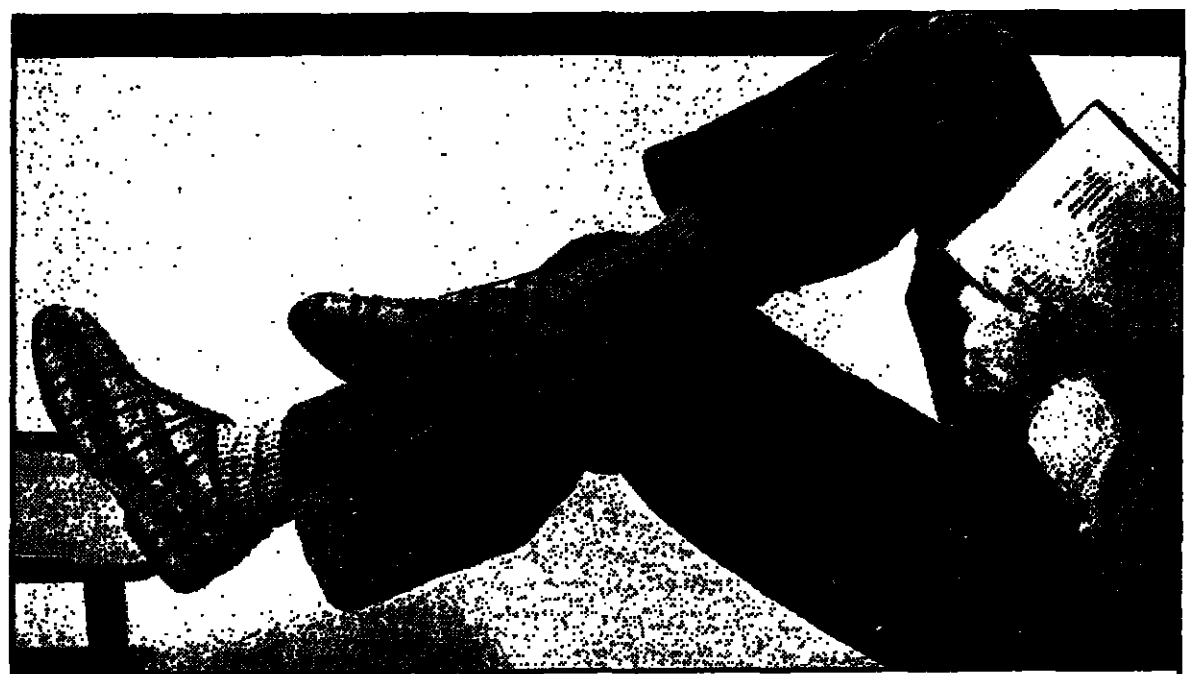
In Sidon yesterday, a group of terrorists took over a downtown mosque and are reported to be holding several dozen civilians hostage.

The terrorists started systematically killing the hostages.

In the north, the terrorists are coming under pressure from the (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)



Beirut, where the cease-fire with the Palestinians collapsed yesterday. Heavy fighting was taking place near Shouaifat, south of the international airport and Palestinian targets in Moslem West Beirut came under heavy artillery and aerial bombardment, especially the sports stadium used by the PLO as an armoury.



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## Red Cross sends tons of medical aid IDF helps rehabilitate Tyre

Jerusalem Post Staff

**ROSH HANUKKA.** — Ten tons of medical supplies earmarked for the civilian population of war-ravaged Tyre were ferried across the border by the International Red Cross here yesterday. This first IRC shipment augments earlier relief convoys sent into Tyre by the IDF on Wednesday and Thursday. The city is now supplied with water and basic food commodities. Fresh bread is also being supplied daily by the army, and milk powder is being made available to families with children.

An Israel Defence Forces spokesman told *The Jerusalem Post* here yesterday that civilian life in the city is slowly being brought back to normal. Yesterday, the Lebanese gendarmes, armed and clad in their distinctive green uniforms, were back at work — setting up guard over shops and banks looted by the PLO just before they fled the city.

Dozens of seriously wounded civilians have been evacuated to hospitals in Israel — mainly to the Nahariya hospital, but also, as required, to the wards of other hospitals further south. During a tour of hospitals in the North yesterday, Health Minister Eliezer Shostak said that Israeli hospitals

are prepared to take in Lebanese wounded.

Tyre was worse hit than Sidon, the spokesman said, noting that Sidon is better supplied than Tyre and that in both cities the IDF is doing its utmost to provide all the elementary requirements of the civilian population in order to restore life to a semblance of normality.

The sick and wounded are being taken care of, he said (including seven renal insufficiency patients — sent for dialysis to Nahariya yesterday). Local hospitals are operating again to the best of their ability, and Israeli medical teams have been sent in to reinforce the local doctors.

Yesterday, nine Druse sheikhs from the village of Hasbaya in southern Lebanon came to Haifa to visit 35 of the villagers wounded in last week's fighting and brought to hospital here. They said that they believed that the wounds were caused by Syrian shelling.

Minister of Energy and Infrastructure Yitzhak Mordechai Ziv, who has been ordered to supplement supplies of fuel to the residents of southern Lebanon under Israeli control. The fuel commissioner will work out the technical arrangements for supply-

ing the fuel, and will decide whether it should be done by a pool of all three fuel companies or by each one separately under a quota system. It has not been decided at what price the fuel will be sold there, and whether it will be taxed.

The *Post* has learned that the Ministry of Agriculture is debating how to supply food to the residents of Southern Lebanon. Among the proposals raised are that it be done through the export company Agrexco, or through the various production and marketing boards.

Even before the military government officially took charge of supplying food in southern Lebanon, Israeli soldiers were seen sharing their combat rations with a group of refugee children and old women from the Rashidiya refugee camp, located in a nearby orchard.

"You have to help them," said a soldier. "We don't want them to hate us for generations."

Shinui MK Amnon Rubinstein yesterday proposed that Israel take an active part in the rehabilitation and rebuilding of Southern Lebanon. He feels that Israel ought to show their "good neighbourly intentions to the Lebanese, who no less than us were innocent victims of Palestinian terror."



President Yitzhak Navon and his son Erez examine a soldier's wounded leg during a visit yesterday to Haim Sheba hospital at Tel Hashomer.

## Chief IDF doctor praises role of protective uniforms

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

**HAIFA.** — The chief of the Israel Defence Forces Medical Corps, Tat-Aluf Dr. Eran Dolev, said yesterday that two thirds to three quarters of the several hundred wounded in the Peace for Galilee campaign were lightly hurt.

In the early stages, most of the wounds were caused by bullets and shrapnel from fighting in close quarters and in built-up areas. The burn and amputation wounds characteristic of armour battles — which comprised the majority in former wars — were more frequent in the later stages, after the Syrians joined the fighting.

Dolev stressed the important preventive role played by the protective clothing, helmets and flak jackets worn by troops and the special clothing worn by tank crews. "Since the Yom Kippur War, the use of these has been drilled into the soldiers," and they proved to be life and limb savers as well as reducing the seriousness of injuries, he said. Soldiers should continue wearing them during the cease-fire because there may still be snipers about, he cautioned.

At a meeting with reporters at the Rambam Hospital here, Dolev said all Medical Corps personnel had received written orders to treat all injured they encountered, whether they were soldiers, civilians or prisoners. Every Lebanese who was injured and turned to his men was treated "as a human being, according to the seriousness of the injury."

He said that the Medical Corps will be able to start dealing with the sick and ill in Lebanon as well, "if we are assigned the task."

Dolev confirmed that Israeli soldiers had suffered injuries due to their concern to not harm innocent

civilians. "The purity of arms has a price, a price I think we must accept," he said.

His own men had paid a price for going forward all the way with the troops so that they would be able to treat the injured without delay.

Two doctors had fallen: Stefan Landes in a helicopter that crashed on its way to the front, and Daniel Goldberg, with the Armoured Corps. Another eight doctors were injured and a considerable number of medical orderlies had been killed or injured "running forward with the troops."

Rambam director Prof. Yosef Brandes said Jewish doctors from abroad had offered their services and he had asked the anesthetologists and orthopedic and plastic surgeons among them to come as soon as they can. Rehabilitation experts would also be needed for months to come.

One wounded soldier, Aharon Werbner of Haifa, told Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren that he and his comrades do not regret having endangered themselves to save civilians. Though he was badly hurt, his conscience is clear, he said.

Werbner, who is a graduate of a header yeshiva, said he had taken part in the mopping-up operations in Tyre and Sidon. He sought to assure all concerned "that we did all we could, risking our own skins, to do (the civilians) as little harm as possible."

Sephardi Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, Knesset Speaker Menachem Seidov, and Health Minister Eliezer Shostak also visited the wounded yesterday at Rambam.

An official Knesset delegation composed of Gula Cohen, Shlomo Hillel and Knesset Secretary Netanel Lorch visited the wounded yesterday in Jerusalem at Hadassah and Shaare Zedek hospitals.

## Sharon denies Red Cross report of toll in Lebanon

Jerusalem Post Staff

Defence Minister Ariel Sharon yesterday dismissed as "exaggerated" the allegations of an International Red Cross representative in Lebanon concerning the numbers of civilian dead, wounded and homeless in the wake of last week's fighting. He was speaking at the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee.

Sharon said that Israel Defence Forces soldiers had risked their lives in taking special measures to keep civilian casualties as low as possible. He added that they had done the maximum to alleviate civilian suffering.

The publicized figures of "600,000 homeless" and "10,000 dead" in Lebanon are "fabrications spread by the PLO," Moshe Yegar, Foreign Ministry deputy director-general in charge of information, told *The Jerusalem Post* last night.

According to Yegar, the figures are part of the "disinformation" being spread by the terrorist organization in its propaganda battle against Israel. He said that Israeli estimates of deaths and homeless among the Lebanese civilian population — which he could not reveal — are much lower than the figures promoted by the PLO.

"There is no answer to the shots selected by TV cameramen," said

Yegar. But the ministry intends putting its own message across with speakers, instructions to Israeli embassy officials who appear abroad, and photographs of weapons captured from the PLO.

Foreign and local journalists will be taken to view mountains of sophisticated weapons captured from the PLO by the Israel Defence Forces in Lebanon, Government Press Office director Ze'ev Chafetz said. He was commenting on the proposal yesterday by Shinui Knesset Member Amnon Rubinstein that all the weapons captured be put on exhibition for foreign correspondents.

The Foreign Ministry has sent a dozen political and academic lecturers to the U.S. and Europe to explain Israel's reasons for the operation in Lebanon. The press office has also sent photographs of "what the PLO did to our settlements and what we did to help the Lebanese" to government agencies and news media around the world.

Chafetz asserted that the government is justified in restricting tours of the battle areas during the war by foreign journalists. "We were much more magnanimous than the British are with the Falkland Islands," he asserted. "They are showing three-week-old film."

## Begin to brief Knesset committee today

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Menachem Begin will brief Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee today for the first time in nearly a month. The coalition and the opposition have reached an arrangement whereby the prime minister's statement will be followed by a discussion in which two Knesset Members from each side will take part.

Committee chairman Elihu Ben-

Elissar said last month that the committee had not shown the prime minister the respect he merited and so Begin would no longer attend meetings.

Begin's aides, however, said that the prime minister was not attending because he could not take the additional strain on his fractured hip.

Tomorrow the committee will tour southern Lebanon.

## Comptroller's report may be delayed

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Economic Minister Ya'acov Meridor is expected to ask the Knesset today to postpone the publication of the 32nd annual State Comptroller's Report, which is scheduled to be released tomorrow.

Meridor believes that the publication of the report, which comprises a compendium of the government's administration and criticism of its operations, will not be appropriate in view of the war in Lebanon and its aftermath.

The report usually comes out on May 15, but it was postponed by Knesset law to a month later because a new comptroller, Yitzhak Tunik, took over at the end of the year. Copies of the volume have already been distributed to the newspapers for preparation of summaries.

No comment was available yesterday from the State Comptroller's Office on postponement of publication.

## Sarid chided for criticizing Lebanon action

Labour Knesset Member Yosef Sarid is being criticized by party colleagues as well as by members of other parties for attacking the Israel Defence Forces action in Lebanon.

Tehiya MK Gula Cohen argued that it is fair to take the government to task before a military operation and after it, but not during it, "when the guns are firing and our soldiers are risking their lives."

Labour MK Dov Ben Meir, secretary of the Tel Aviv Labour Council, said that Sarid "does not represent the bulk of opinion in

the Labour Party. Most Labour members approve of the action against the PLO."

Labour MK Jacques Amir, Dimona's mayor, went a step further. He called on party chairman Shimon Peres to impose "silence on Sarid at least until there is a full end of the action in Lebanon."

In a telegram to Peres, Amir said that many Dimona families with members serving in Lebanon have asked that Sarid keep silent while their sons are under fire.

## Shamir off to France for talks with Chéysson

Post Diplomatic Reporter

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir leaves this morning for a two-day official visit to France, during which he will hold extensive talks with his French counterpart, Claude Chéysson.

Shamir will also give extensive interviews to the news media and meet newspaper editors as part of

Israel's campaign to improve its image, somewhat tarnished in French eyes during the Lebanon war.

Israel has not asked for a meeting between Shamir and President François Mitterrand, but Israeli officials yesterday did not rule out the possibility of such a meeting.

**VOLUNTEERS.** — Pupils at the WIZO agricultural high school at Nahalal are looking after the farms of the moshav members who are away on reserve duty.

**WATERING HOLE.** — The WIZO club in Metulla is open 24 hours a day as a resting place for soldiers where they can get refreshments, call home and relax.

## Phones, TVs for soldiers

By JUDY SIGEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Soldiers serving in Lebanon will be able to watch the Madrid World Cup soccer finals on TV sets in their bases, thanks to the communications ministry.

At the request of Minister Mordechai Ziv, communications technicians have begun to investigate how this can be done, even if it requires flying in special broadcasting equipment from abroad, or the setting up of a special transmitting station.

Even today, troops in some areas of Lebanon, especially those near the Israeli border, are able to receive Israeli broadcasts. Ziv called on the public to donate used TV sets to the Soldiers' Welfare Association, which will transport them immediately to the troops up north.

A mobile unit with 24 telephone lines was installed yesterday by ministry technicians in Lebanon, so soldiers could call their families.

Four more such mobile units are scheduled to be installed.

Ministry staffers have volunteered to contact thousands of families of soldiers whose greetings have not been broadcast on Gali Zahal. The staffers locate the numbers with the help of a computer and dial the families directly.

Letters to soldiers serving in Lebanon should be handed to special clerks in any post office rather than be deposited in postal collection boxes.

The communications ministry set up this special service to enable this mail to be sent express. Mail to soldiers in the North will receive top priority treatment, with the help of volunteers.

Zivari has also announced that out-of-order phones of families with soldiers in Lebanon will be fixed (if possible) the same day as the complaint is made.

The public is asked to keep phone calls as short as possible, so as to keep lines to the North clear.

## Mobile banks will service reservists

By YITZHAK OKED  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

**TEL AVIV.** — Reservists will be able to draw up to IS400 a day from mobile banks that will operate specially for this purpose during the emergency in the North.

This arrangement, agreed on yesterday by the Banks Association and the Israel Defence Forces paymaster, applies to all reservists with credit cards. These, together with some form of identification, will suffice to draw out a daily IS400.

The mobile banks will also per-

form a number of other banking services, such as supplying cheque books.

Reservists will also be able to draw a cheque of IS1,000 every three days. Another service for reservists on active duty in the North will allow them to draw IS75 against a cheque made out to the Shekem at any of the Shekem cautions.

The IDF paymaster has also decided to advance IS250 to all reservists now conscripted, against their next salary.

## Yad Sarah supplies free medical equipment

The central depots of the Yad Sarah Organization for the Loan of Medical Equipment were virtually emptied of vital equipment over the weekend, because of the need of hospitals all over the country to vacate beds and other facilities for wounded soldiers.

The equipment includes wheelchairs, oxygen units, monitors, "Fowler" hospital beds, walking aids and other equipment that makes it possible for certain

patients to complete their recuperation at home. The equipment is loaned, free of charge, through Yad Sarah's 26 branches all over the country.

For help or information, call Yad Sarah: Jerusalem — 02-244047 or 232109; Tel Aviv region — 03-248611; Haifa and the north — 04-245286.

## Welcome

Bubby Esther Liebes from New York

from Yaacov, Elimeir, Meshulam, Zelman, Mordechai Dov, Bina, Adina, and the new baby boy Sorotzkin



## Soldiers' Welfare Society Lottery Drawing Postponed

The Soldiers' Welfare Society lottery drawing scheduled for Wednesday, June 16, 1982, has been postponed due to the present situation. The new date for the drawing will be announced in a special notice.

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## A Special Headquarters

has been set up to deal with all problems relating to studies of mobilised students.

The headquarters accepts calls from 6 a.m. to 12 midnight.

Families of mobilised students are requested to supply information to the headquarters on those affected by the callup.

The University administration requests that information be forwarded to the headquarters on the places where its wounded students, faculty and general university staff have been hospitalised.

The University has adopted a number of measures meant to facilitate matters connected with the studies of its mobilised students.

Headquarters phone numbers:  
02-882910, 02-882908

Headquarters phone numbers for students of the Agriculture Faculty at Rehovot:  
054-81332, 054-81345

Headquarters phone numbers for the staff of the Agriculture Faculty at Rehovot:  
054-81286

The Hebrew University administration and staff send their best wishes to mobilised students, faculty and staff, and wish them all a speedy and safe return home.

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## Full Tilt

### Israel Overruns The P.L.O. — and Much of Lebanon

Israel proved its prowess anew last week, sending its forces smashing into Lebanon and transforming the Mideast political map for months and perhaps years to come.

In six startling days, Israeli armored columns, with air and naval support, swept away Palestinian strongholds in southern Lebanon and pushed to the gates of Beirut. And in the biggest aerial dogfight since World War II, Israel claimed the destruction of 79 Syria's Soviet-built MIG's and 19 SAM missile batteries in the Bekaa Valley, a landmark military achievement Damascus claimed — and Jerusalem denied — heavy losses of Israeli jets.

Israel and Syria, prodded by the United States and Soviet Union, then announced a fragile cease-fire. But fighting continued on a reduced level between Israelis and the Palestine Liberation Organization, which feared decimation. Yesterday, Israeli planes and artillery blasted sections of Beirut and Palestinian strongholds in the suburbs near the airport. Then Jerusalem announced a unilateral cease-fire to prevail, it said, unless the Palestinians resumed firing.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin at first said Israel's objective was to clear Palestinian forces from the 25-mile-wide zone north of the Lebanese frontier that is within artillery range of Israeli settlements. Palestinian artillery bombarded Galilee, forcing residents into underground shelters until Israel stilled the guns.

Early on, Israel signaled Syria through public announcements and diplomatic channels to stand clear while it pursued the Palestinians. But the Israelis advanced so quickly that they soon were skirmishing with Syrian units. And as Israelis approached the Bekaa Valley redoubt, that Damascus regards as crucial to its security, Syrian MIG's began to intercept and fall prey to Israel's more advanced American-built F-15's, equipped with radar-jamming devices and computer-guided by electronic command aircraft (Israel's version of Awacs) miles away over the Mediterranean.

The Israelis raced up the coast seizing Palestinian strongholds. Hundreds of civilians were wounded.

### What's next for Israel and Palestinians

# 2

tens of thousands fled their homes and were stranded for a time, United Nations aides said, without food and water. As the Israelis neared Beirut, their horizons widened. They looted the capital, advising Syrians to flee or face suicidal odds in an Israeli takeover and they threatened the strategic Damascus-Beirut road vital to 30,000 Syrian troops.

There was talk of forcing the Syrians and the armed Palestinians out of Lebanon and handing Beirut over to a reorganized government that would disarm the 40 anarchic militias. At the United Nations, the Security Council twice voted unanimously for a cease-fire and Israeli withdrawal, but the United States last week vetoed an attempt to add sanctions.

The Soviet Union condemned Israel but made no public threats. But as Russian weapons were demobilized (Moscow withholds its most advanced electronic gear from clients such as Syria) and Damascus faced the threat of humiliating defeat, the Soviet leader, Leonid I. Brezhnev, sent a warning to Mr. Reagan. And Presidential envoy Philip C. Habib, shuttling between Mr. Begin and Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, relayed a "firm" message — halt. Both countries threatened exposed cease-fire, with qualifications — eventual Israeli withdrawal, said Syria; guarantees Palestinians would not again menace Galilee, said Israel.

Mr. Habib began negotiating crucial details. Some Syrian units were seen crossing the frontier toward Damascus, where diplomats said Soviet transports were already offloading replacement matériel.

If the cease-fire held, said Lieut. Gen. Rafael Eytan, Israel's Chief of Staff, some of his troops would be withdrawn next week. "Israel does not have any intention whatsoever to keep any part, even one inch, of Lebanese territory," Defense Minister Ariel Sharon insisted.

### Crises Crowd Reagan Agenda

President Reagan's advisers planned his European trip partly as a respite from domestic unpleasantness in the economy and Congress. But in nine crowded days abroad, the international scene turned out to be taxing, too, and Mr. Reagan's return to Washington last week was brightened by word that the House had finally approved a Republican budget.

He conferred with Western leaders on economic and alliance concerns and explained to Europeans, via television, his policies on bolstering defense while pursuing arms control negotiations with the Russians.

The President, whirling in planes, helicopters and closed motorcades from Versailles to Rome, London and Bonn in a security cocoon spun tighter since last year's assassination attempt, was repeatedly called aside for battle briefings on Lebanon and the Falklands, which Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. admitted were "a burden" on the trip.

Amid democratic pomp and North Atlantic circumstance in Bonn, he won endorsement from allied heads of government for setting a ceiling of 700,000 ground troops and 200,000 air force personnel for NATO and Warsaw Pact forces in Europe. He assured the West German Parliament of continued military support and went to the Berlin Wall to illustrate allegations of Soviet failure. Reagan told cheering American soldiers the Russians built the wall because "they know that freedom is catching."

The President and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt still differed, however, over "nuances of détente," a Schmidt aide said. West German magazines have portrayed the President as war-loving and 200,000 people demonstrated in Bonn against the nuclear arms buildup. "To those who march for peace, my heart is with you," Mr. Reagan said. "I would be at the head of your parade if I believed marching alone could bring about a more secure world."

In London, he advised members of Parliament to consign Marxist-Leninism "to the ash heap of history" and called for activism to bring democracy to Communist countries. Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. hastened to deny that Mr. Reagan was "seeking bloodshed in Poland," but in Moscow, Tass perceived "slender" and "warmed anti-Communists against inviting," "catastrophic" "with more than 150 Labor M.P.'s stayed away to show disapproval of Reagan's policies in Latin America and South Africa; the party also "utterly rejected an ideological crusade against the Soviet Union."

On a six-hour flying stop in Rome, he discussed the war fronts and the nuclear arms race with Pope John Paul II and Italian leaders.

Earlier, at the Versailles conference on economic subjects, Mr. Reagan failed to persuade leaders of industrial nations to ban subsidized loans to Communist countries; they agreed only to use "caution" in these dealings. The United States made a 180-degree turn and agreed to begin "global" economic negotiations soon with developing countries. Washington had opposed the talks, seeing them as aimed at limiting the market forces it swears by.

### Battle Begins Near Stanley

Britain last week suffered its worst casualties of the Falklands war, but the losses only seemed to increase Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's



United Press International

determination to push for military victory. Striking before dawn yesterday, British forces surprised Argentine positions near Stanley amid indications that the final assault against the 7,000-man Argentine garrison was under way.

Negotiations with Argentina would be "unthinkable," Mrs. Thatcher said, after Argentine planes had set afire two landing craft, killing at least 43 British troops. Argentine news agencies claimed more than 500 British soldiers were killed or seriously injured in the air attack at Fitzroy, 15 miles south of Stanley; fuel supplies and ammunition exploded. Taking advantage of temporarily clear skies, Argentine jets demonstrated that the British remained vulnerable to mainland-based air attacks, an indication that even after Stanley is captured, the cost to Britain of holding the Falklands may be high. The Argentine Mirage and A-4 Skyhawks came in "on the deck," low beneath British radar, hitting the Sir Galahad and the Sir Lancelot, 5,674-ton landing craft. Both ships were abandoned.

Correspondents said hundreds of men were burned. Britain claimed it shot down 11 Argentine planes last week; Buenos Aires admitted the loss of two planes. Six Britons were also killed last week in a hit on a smaller landing craft near Lively Island. Confirmed British losses were approaching the 200 mark; Argentina has lost more than 650 men.

Britain had landed 9,000 men to encircle the 7,000-man Argentine garrison at Stanley. But perhaps as a precaution against air raids, several thousand British troops reportedly were still dispersed away from the capital. Britain, recognizing it was handicapped by lack of radar capable of intercepting low-flying attackers, reportedly had asked the United States to loan an Awacs electronic spy plane. Washington has offered to help with equipment but was not ready to send Americans into the combat zone. Britons would require training to operate Awacs.

President Reagan, visiting England last week, smoothed over British displeasure with the Administration's zigzag on the Falklands in the United Nations. Washington had joined in the British veto of a Security Council resolution calling for a cease-fire, but afterward, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the United States chief delegate, announced receipt of late instructions calling for an abatement. Mr. Reagan, in London, reiterated "our support for the British position in the Falklands that armed aggression cannot be allowed to succeed." (London waits anxiously, page 3.)



President Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher at NATO meeting in Bonn last week.

## Other People's Wars Follow Reagan on Europe Tour

By HEDRICK SMITH

FOR weeks, Reagan Administration Middle East experts had been bracing for an Israeli invasion of Lebanon aimed at crippling the Palestine Liberation Organization and driving it out of the zone just north of the Israeli border. But the actual strike could hardly have come at a more inopportune moment for President Reagan. Israel's lightning military advances overshadowed his grand tour of Europe, serving as a reminder that the superpowers may busy themselves with arming for big wars and negotiating to make them less likely, only to learn once again that it is the small wars that ensnare them and jeopardize their interests.

The Israeli attack left Mr. Reagan's call for a new political and ideological contest with the East playing second fiddle on the nightly news and in the headlines. The Israeli moves partially blunted the impact of the President's mission to convince Europe that he is less warlike than it had feared and thus to draw Europe closer to America.

The longer Israeli forces hold Lebanese territory, the more uncomfortable it will be for Washington. Far beyond the combat zone, the Israeli action threatens to reopen a breach between the Reagan Administration and the Europeans. The 10-nation European Common Market last week denounced Israel for "a flagrant violation of international law." Many Europeans, sensitive to moderate Arab opinion and the danger of an Arab oil embargo, consider it futile for Israel to seek security by suppressing the Palestine Liberation Organization in the West Bank and trying to cripple it in Lebanon.

Washington felt the sting of moderate Arabs' resentment and frustration. To American relief, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak quickly coupled his plea for United States pressure on Israel with a pledge to abide by Cairo's peace treaty with Israel. He thus forestalled a concerted Arab counterblow against Israel.

Saudi Arabia's Foreign Minister, Prince Saud al-Faisal, protested to President Reagan in Bonn and conveyed fears that Israeli successes would set loose radical stirrings in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere. In a classic understatement, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. acknowledged that Arab-American relations had become more "sharply edged" since the Lebanon invasion.

### Some Qualms in Congress

Deep Israeli penetration of Lebanon, and the wobbly cease-fire, left open the danger of wider war between Israel and Syria. Although backed by the Soviet Union, the Syrians were no match for the Israelis militarily and were relatively isolated in the Arab world.

The Russians were annoyed because Israel was destroying Soviet-backed P.L.O. forces and exposing Syria's weakness. Moscow's inability to do much to protect its Arab friends, Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, and Mr. Reagan exchanged messages, advising each other to stay on the sidelines and to keep their respective allies in check.

The fighting seemed to undermine prospects for American-supported negotiations on Palestinian autonomy and threatened to severely set back the entire peace process. Moderate Arabs, who had been moving toward a new initiative on Arab-Israeli negotiations, will now reverse course, British diplomats believe; Lebanon will become the prime point of contention, especially if a lengthy Israeli presence raises suspicions of a de facto partition.

It was early to assess the impact on American opinion and Congress, but the well-reported carnage in Lebanon and the depth of Israeli advances invited political tensions. Representative Clement Zablocki, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and former Undersecretary of State George Ball have already chastised Israel and the Administration has delayed action on the \$6.8 billion foreign aid bill, which was already in trouble, fearing further erosion of Congressional support after the Israeli invasion.

The President and Mr. Haig have treated Prime Minister Menachem Begin gingerly. Hours before the attack, Mr. Reagan sent an urgent message asking Mr. Begin to hold off. Washington backed an early call by the United Nations Security Council for cease-fire and Israeli withdrawal, although it vetoed a later threat of sanctions for noncompliance. The demands were repeated daily by Mr. Haig, conveyed to Mr. Begin by special envoy Philip C. Habib, and re-emphasized in a "very firm" Reagan message Thursday.

Nonetheless, the Administration was seen as acquiescing in the Israeli onslaught. Words were not backed by evident tough actions. A year ago, Mr. Reagan suspended deliveries of F-15 fighter-bombers after Israel used American planes to bomb an Iraqi nuclear reactor and Palestinian enclaves in Beirut. Last week's fighting



United Press International

Bound and blindfolded Palestinian fighters captured by Israeli troops last week in the coastal city of Sidon.

was far more extensive, but Presidential aides said there was no decision to impose sanctions.

In briefings, Mr. Haig (referring once to Israeli combat aircraft losses "we" suffered) signaled that Washington regarded with understanding Israel's attack on Palestinian artillery and rocket positions 25 miles north of its border. Not until Israeli forces had pushed well beyond did the Secretary ominously suggest the situation had "worsened."

The Americans would like to establish a more effective buffer zone in southern Lebanon and to do better than last year's fragile cease-fire. The challenge will be to devise what Mr. Haig called a combination of peacekeeping forces that will persuade the Israelis to withdraw, but that will not be rejected by Lebanon and other Arabs, notably Syria. Israel also wants a reduction in the 25,000-man Syrian force in Lebanon, a difficult goal, even though Syria may have been cowed militarily. Syria, too, views Lebanon as an important buffer, offering Syria protection from direct exposure to Israeli forces. Syria, like Israel, wants a friendly government in Beirut. Their aims seem irreconcilable.

### Reassembling the Pieces

Mr. Haig wants to strengthen the weak and fragmented central Lebanese Government and build up its undermanned army so it could police border areas. Whether this is practical will depend, in part, on how badly Israel has wounded the P.L.O. Mr. Haig has also spoken of an enlarged United Nations peace force or some other multinational force, like the one in Sinai that includes Americans. But a Russian veto at the United Nations would block changes opposed by Syria, and Mr. Haig added that American participation in a Lebanon force "is not something we are leaning toward."

Wider American interests in the region may push Washington toward accepting a significant role, however reluctantly. It is in the United States interest, officials believe, to keep Lebanon as a regional buffer zone rather than let it disintegrate further or become a tinder box under divided occupation, with Syria in the North and Israel in the South.

In sum, the Americans privately concede that the Israeli attack could eventually lead to a better, more stable situation. They sympathize with Israel's frustration over the Palestinian rocket attacks into northern Israel and the need for calm on that border, and they would like to see Syrian positions and influence in Lebanon reduced.

But if Israel's terms for withdrawal are too tough and its occupation of southern Lebanon becomes entrenched, that could produce a major confrontation between the Reagan Administration and the Begin Government.



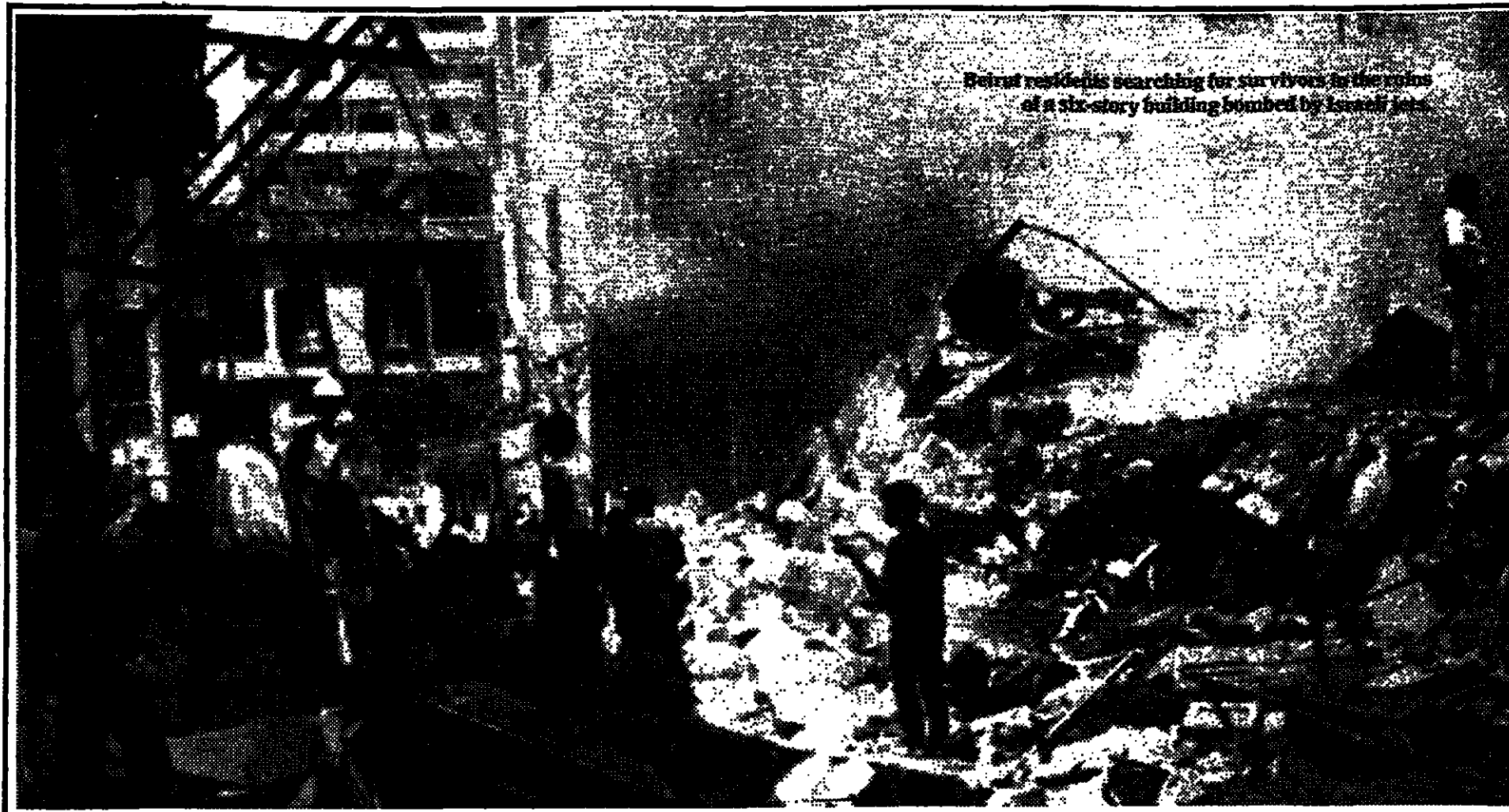
People with people in mind.



בנק לאומי bank leumi



## A Long-Anticipated Strike Against Lebanon Mobilizes Israel's 'People's Army' Once Again



## Arabs Leave P.L.O. to Fight Alone For Survival

By JOHN KIFNER

WHEN the invasion came, it was all that Lebanon expected — and more. Since mid-December, the Lebanese and the dwindling cluster of foreign journalists and diplomats in Beirut, along with the Palestinian guerrillas strung out in bases to the south, had been living in a permanent state of jitter, expecting an Israeli strike any day. Any move would be massive, the feeling went, a blow to crush the slowly mounting military power of the guerrillas.

In February, a prominent Western diplomat told a group of reporters, with only a small trace of irony, that the cable traffic from his counterparts in Israel suggested a "permanent solution to the Palestinian problem." Perhaps the only thing that was surprising was the speed with which the Israeli moved (Beaufort Castle, the 12th century crusader fortress burrowed into an imposing bluff over the Litani River that was the guerrillas' main citadel, fell within 24 hours) and the efficiency with which their fighters dispatched some 79 Syrian warplanes, nearly a fifth the known Syrian fleet.

The proximate cause of the attack on the Palestine Liberation Organization, Israel said, was an assassination attempt that left their Ambassador in London brain-damaged and critically wounded. However, it appeared the shots were fired not by the Palestine Liberation Organization but by members of a renegade Palestinian group seeking to discredit and overthrow the relatively moderate leadership of P.L.O. chairman Yasser Arafat.

British authorities announced that what appeared to be a "hit list" recovered from the suspects also contained the name of the P.L.O. representative in London, like nearly all such representatives a member of Mr. Arafat's Fatah organization and a supporter of his diplomatic initiative. In Beirut, callers to news agencies claimed responsibility for the shooting on behalf of the organization headed by Abu Nidal, a shadowy figure now operating under Syrian protection. He has been waging a back-alley war of assassination against Mr. Arafat and is himself under a Fatah death sentence. An Israeli spokesman in London brushed aside the distinction, saying: "There is no such thing as a good and bad P.L.O."

It was, in any case, of little moment. For Israel, the real issue was the long-range rockets and artillery that the guerrillas were deploying along the rolling hills and scraggy ridge lines of Southern Lebanon. In a flurry of fighting last July, the Palestinians shocked the Israeli military by their ability to keep up their barrages — particularly from truck-mounted rockets that could be easily moved to avoid being targeted — on northern Israeli settlements. It was the first time that some of the settlements had had to be evacuated.

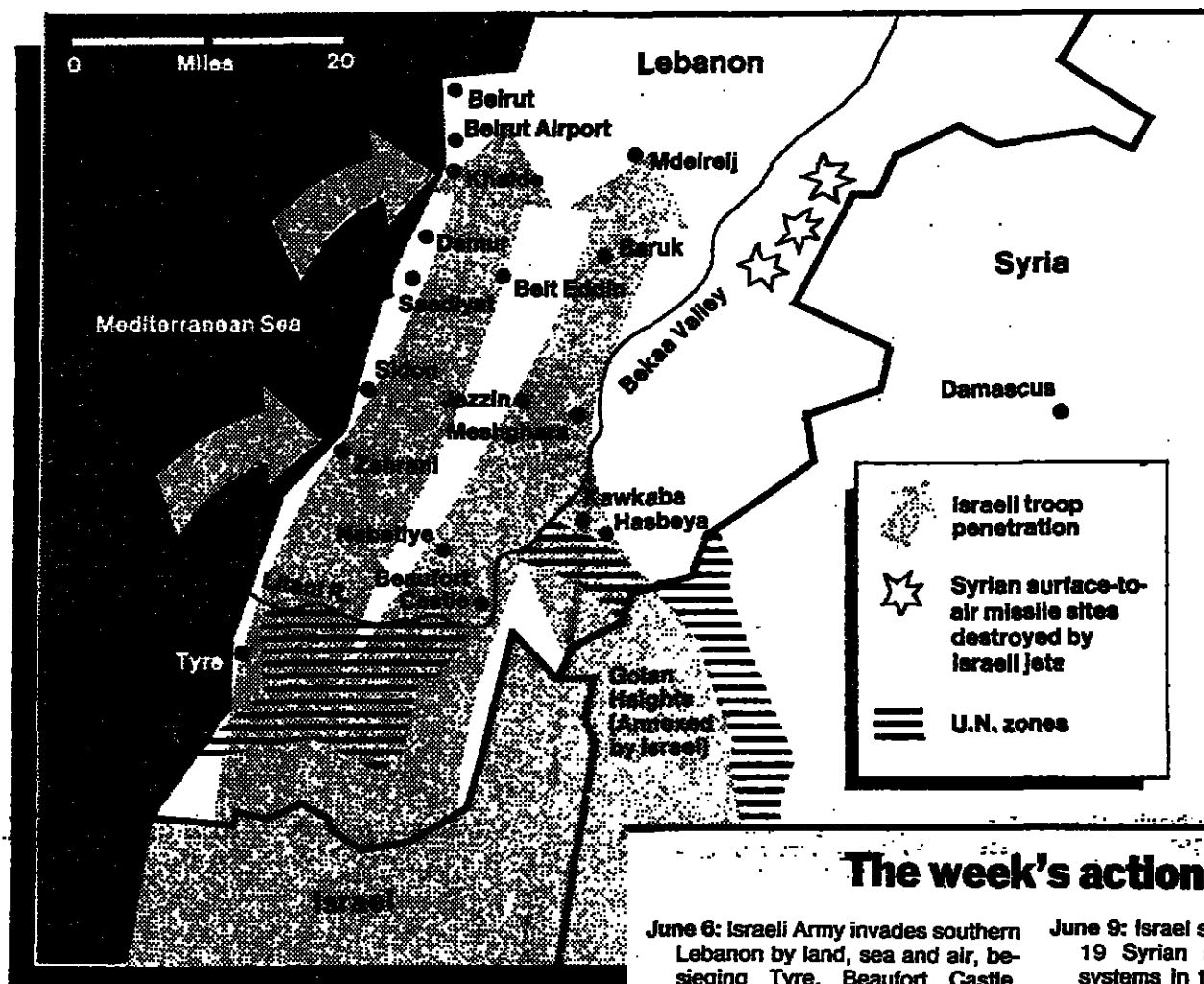
## Arab Countries in Disarray

By week's end, Beirut was besieged, its western half pounded by nearly constant air raids and naval artillery bombardment. Palestinian forces and Lebanese leftist militiamen were holding off the Israelis at a highway intersection just behind the runways of Beirut international airport. The city itself was a scene of horrific anarchy. Only gunshots roamed the shattered streets; a pitched battle broke out in a line at a bakery; the dead and wounded piled up in hospitals.

The cease-fire ending Syria's brief involvement in the fighting, one day after President Hafez al-Assad told his troops their motto was "victory or martyrdom," drew headlines, but it was clear that it had no effect on the battle between Israel and the P.L.O. Israel's goal appeared to be to once and for all smash the P.L.O. military and political infrastructure. Israeli army chief of staff Rafael Eytan made clear there would be no Israeli pullout until pockets of guerrillas were wiped out. "If we have to look under every stone for terrorists, we will," he said.

For all the superheated rhetoric about support for the Palestinian cause, there was not much help forthcoming for the guerrillas from the Arab world. Indeed, the Israeli's struck at a time when the Middle East was divided as rarely before. Iraq was being beaten back to its own border in the war it had launched against Iran more than a year and a half ago, and the oil-rich conservative Persian Gulf states were nervously watching the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. Syria, alone of the Arab countries was supporting Persian Iran, while King Hussein of neighboring Jordan was trying to rally support for Iraq. Syria had its own troubles, having leveled much of its fifth largest city, Hama, earlier this year as a pointed warning against malcontents.

Syria appeared to have been drawn into the fighting largely by the embarrassment of Israel's open warning to Damascus to stay out, and by the fact that the Israelis moved so fast they came up on its positions in the Bekaa Valley and the strategic highway between Beirut and Damascus. While Syria postures as the leading "steadfastness and confrontation" state and defender of the Palestinians, the reality is more ambivalent. Mr. Assad has



consistently sought to limit P.L.O. power and keep the it under his thumb; indeed in the serpentine politics of Lebanon it is sometimes forgotten that his forces battled the guerrillas when they entered the country in 1976 to save the Christian rightists. The loss of his planes and highly touted but apparently ineffective missiles — which presumably will be replaced by his Soviet sponsors — may be a small price for the face Mr. Assad has saved in the Arab world. Iraq, looking for a way out of the Gulf War, declared its own cease-fire, with Iran, but Tehran said no deal until President Saddam Hussein is ousted.

The fighting will redraw the political map of Lebanon and the Middle East in ways that are not yet clear. One possible set of beneficiaries of the invasion could be the Maronite Catholics of Bashir Gemayel's Phalange militia, whose alliance with Israel has long been an open secret. If the Palestinians and Lebanese leftists are crushed, they could step into the vacuum to take national power.

But the Christian rightists have been silent thus far and have not linked up with the Israeli forces. The main body of the Palestinians now appears trapped in Beirut, spread from their shantytown southern suburbs throughout the Western part of the city. Despite direct hits on their command centers, they claim their leadership is intact and they are ready for a house-to-house last stand. Such fighting could be costly to the Israelis and they appeared to be instead stepping up their bombardment, reducing much of Beirut to rubble.

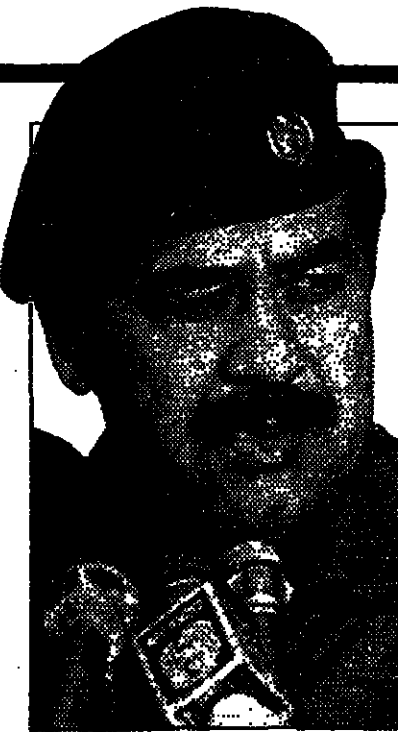
## Iran Rejects Iraq's Call For Cease-fire

IRAQ, apparently near defeat in its war with Iran and faced with Iranian demands for massive reparations and punishment of the "aggressors," volunteered to stop shooting last week if its neighbor would join it in supporting Syria against Israel. Iran found it an offer easy to refuse, even before the shaky cease-fire between Syria and Israel.

"They should have done it before the Israeli invasion," Tehran Radio quoted military officials as saying. "It is too late now and they have to pay for it."

Despite Iran's rejection of their offer to withdraw, Iraqi forces on the Persian Gulf front refused to initiate hostilities the next two days. On Friday, the Iraqis struck back after an Iranian artillery attack, according to a communiqué, killing 37 Iraqis and destroying one vehicle.

While Iran wasn't ready to end the 21-month conflict by letting a weakened Iraq off the hook, it was appar-



Saddam Hussein/Clayton Kopp

ently willing to fight the Israelis, to a limited extent, even as hostilities with Iraq continued. Iran's national news agency said the country planned to send volunteers to fight in

Lebanon "upon the approval of the Syrian government." A spokesman for the Iranian parliament said recruiting centers had been set up.

Meanwhile, Turkish Foreign Ministry officials in Ankara said their Government had approved an Iranian request to fly "urgent medical needs, drugs and goods to Lebanon" through Turkish airspace. Iraq, still willing to do its bit, then volunteered to let Iranian troops fly over its soil on their way to Lebanon, Turkish state-run radio said, if its cease-fire offer was accepted.

Such offers held little meaning, however, as long as the Syrian-Israeli cease-fire held up. It was still in place Saturday, though certainly no less fragile and perhaps more so. Though they said they would not shoot at Syrians if the Syrians didn't shoot first or bring missiles across the Lebanese border, Israeli forces continued to bomb and shell what they said were Palestinian Liberation Organization positions in and around Beirut.

Officials in Jerusalem denied Arab radio reports that the Israeli Air Force was also bombing Syrian positions.

## For Israel, Victory Is Only the First Step

By DAVID K. SHUPLER

JERUSALEM

ISRAEL is a country of short wars. Its smallness, its intimacy, its "people's army" of musicians, teachers, farmers and auto mechanics, cannot withstand the gradual erosion of a prolonged conflict. The economy slows and dies; morale withers. For when the call comes, as it did last week, men leave their fields and desks, their construction sites, classrooms, stores and families.

They leave behind a population gripped thoroughly by their absence. It is as if an entire small town were mobilized; literally every Israeli knows someone on the battlefield. Many know more than one, some know a dozen. The name of every dead soldier is read on radio and television. So every war is a personal trial; every war must mobilize not only the reserves of manpower, but the conviction of the people.

Israel's war in Lebanon did that in the first few days last week. The Palestinian guerrillas who had plagued the towns of northern Israel with artillery and rocket fire, albeit only in reaction to Israeli air strikes on their bases, were seen almost unanimously as legitimate targets of the massive invasion that had been planned and threatened for months by Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. And when Israeli troops and armor swept up through Lebanon, reaching in hours the strongholds that had long been names of infamy for Israel — Beaufort, Nabatieh, Tyre, Sidon, Damour — the country was solidly supportive.

## Dark Suspicions

Shimon Peres, leader of the opposition Labor Party and usually a bitter critic of Prime Minister Menachem Begin, urged the people to rally behind the Government. "It is the duty of Israel to do whatever is necessary to stop these attacks upon the population and the life in the northern part of Israel," he said. "It is surely a matter of self-defense."

One day later, however, Mr. Peres and his Labor colleague, former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, were in Mr. Begin's office to express their worry that the war might widen into conflagration with Syria. The concern spread to segments of the public at large as Israel conducted punishing attacks on Syrian positions and missiles in Lebanon.

Although the attack on the missiles was dazzling militarily, it sent a shiver through some segments of Israel's population and the international community. It was feared that Mr. Sharon, known as a brilliant general with a distinguished battle record and "no moral brakes," as another general once commented, was running the country into a wider war.

While he consulted daily with the full Cabinet, a dark suspicion began forming that he had deliberately understated the objectives, even to the Cabinet itself. There was considerable relief Friday when Cabinet members decided on a cease-fire with the Syrians, despite continued fighting with Palestinian units near Beirut. The fighting had waned, said had won.

But won what? Certainly, the Palestinian military presence in southern Lebanon has been destroyed, and Mr. Sharon made it plain that the army will continue to "clean" a zone 25 miles north of the border until it is free of "terrorists," a task that could take months. How to keep it that way is the question.

The Government says it does not want to leave Israeli troops there; it plans to do so only as long as it takes to find all the guerrillas, transport to Israel the tons of weapons and ammunition that were captured, and negotiate some formula through international diplomacy to prevent the area from developing again into a base for terrorism, which would not be advantageous for any Western country.

"Lebanon became the center of world terrorism," Mr. Sharon said at a news conference summing up his invasion. "In the last year alone, more than 2,000 terrorists from all around the world, almost from every terrorist organization upon earth, got their training, briefing, equipment and so on in Lebanon."

These included the Red Brigades, the Irish Republican Army, the Japanese Red Army, the Baader-Meinhof Gang, the Basque terror group ETA, and many other such movements, Israeli officials said.

When the Israeli forces arrived at Palestinian bases, they found citizens of Pakistan and Sri Lanka, for example, who were promptly taken as prisoners along with hundreds of Palestinians.

Israel's first choice for a solution is an American-led multinational force to patrol southern Lebanon, but it is not clear that the United States wants to step into the Lebanese civil war. Another possibility is an expanded United Nations peacekeeping force, although Israel has been dissatisfied with the one that has been there since their last invasion, in 1978.

A third idea is somehow to strengthen the Christians, who have been getting arms and advice from the Israelis, and who are seen from Jerusalem as the best hope for creating a government that might be willing to live next to Israel in peace, if it can muster the strength over its own people to do so.

In addition, some Israeli officials, and Mr. Sharon is apparently among them, want to believe that with the military defeat of the P.L.O. will come political defeat as well, especially on the occupied West Bank, where it is hoped that moderates will shed their fear of the Palestine Liberation Organization leadership and dare to support coexistence with Israel.

## Sharon's Standing

Initial comments by West Bank leaders, however, indicate otherwise; they expressed pride that the P.L.O. could fight as well as it did against such overwhelming odds.

The most beneficial political profit for Mr. Sharon will probably be his own, for his performance must raise his standing both in Prime Minister Begin's Herut Party, where a quiet movement had developed recently to block his succession to Mr. Begin in the party leadership, and among the general electorate, which has liked him despite his authoritarian impulses.

He wants to be Prime Minister someday, and if he can make last week's victory stick, it may help push him on his way.



## Complacency Is a Casualty as London Confronts the Cost of Keeping the Falklands British

## Mrs. Thatcher Drawing More Fire on the Home Front



British marines manning a mortar on the slopes of Mount Kent, East Falkland.

By R. W. APPLE JR.

**T**HE strong wind fanned the flames, enormous flames, and as the fuel tanks exploded the ship was half enveloped in thick, black smoke, but the Royal Navy helicopter pilots and their crews ignored it. They ignored the explosions and ignored the ammunition erupting around them, and they flew their machines in to lift the queues of men waiting calmly below. The casualties and survivors, many suffering from shock and burns, were picked up from the beach by soldiers who had run from their trenches. Some carried men on their shoulders, struggling in the waves, then went back for more.

That vivid account of the carnage in Port Fitzroy, broadcast by Michael Nicholson of Independent Televi-

sion News, snapped Britain out of a certain complacency about the war in the Falkland Islands last week. What the nation had expected to hear was news of the long anticipated British assault on Stanley and of rapid victory. Indeed, the newspapers had so thoroughly discounted the coming battle that they were devoting most of their attention to postwar arrangements.

The battle would still come, and yesterday amid reports of heavy combat, Defense Secretary John Nott announced a pre-dawn advance in a surprise attack near Stanley. It may come sooner, if the generals conclude that further delay would expose their troops to intolerable Argentine air attacks. It could come later, if the disruption of men and equipment was greater than admitted. But it would not come a second before Maj. Gen. Jeremy Moore, the Bible-toting ground commander, was convinced he had two, three, four times the amount of ammunition and supplies he might need. A friend said, "He is not the sort who runs out of artillery shells."

It is now 10 weeks since the Argentine invasion of the Falklands, three weeks since the landings in San Carlos Bay and 10 days since the go-ahead was given by London for the assault on Stanley. There has been ample time for the Queen Elizabeth 2 to return from a cruise, undergo conversion to troopship duties and complete a 14,000-mile round trip to South Georgia. There is no sign, however, that public support for the enterprise is waning.

The military men and some of the politicians know that the attacks at Port Fitzroy mean the Argentine Air Force retains the capacity to inflict severe losses on the British. They know that means more casualties in the final phase of the war and probably afterward.

But the public seems unmoved by such considerations. And despite the counsel of the opposition and some of her Cabinet colleagues, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher appears to be growing more determined to find some means of keeping the Falklands British for the foreseeable future, regardless of what is seen as inevitable long-term Argentine raids and harassment.

She found little support from either President Reagan or Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. for her plans, but she has not changed them. And after the Americans had left London last week, she told an American television interviewer something she had not said before — that the Falklands had to be defended because they could become strategically vital if the Panama Canal were to fall into unfriendly hands. In the past, Mrs. Thatcher had always justified defending them because their inhabitants were

British and deeply desired to remain British. "Even now, you know, some very big oil tankers have to go around Cape Horn to get to Alaska," she said. "The islands have a very enormous strategic value. They are also to some extent the gateway to the Antarctic, which will become progressively more important in terms of resources to the world."

For Michael Foot, the leader of the Labor Party, the Prime Minister's approach is woefully misguided. He agrees that the Argentines must be got off the islands, but he wants a pledge from Mrs. Thatcher to Buenos Aires that negotiations will reopen the minute an enemy withdrawal is complete. Any other approach, he says, "will make the islands untenable for their inhabitants and impose an expensive and risky burden on Britain" for many years to come. It is not a popular position, and Mrs. Thatcher, who can read the polls and the by-election re-

sults, knows it. Her argument, that it would be a betrayal of British fighting men to negotiate, strikes a chord with the kind of Britons who went to Southampton to cheer the QE2 to her pier.

But that was last week, with the fighting still going on, with heroes coming home and the bands still playing. What if the Falklands become a second Ulster, much smaller and much farther from home, tying up British troops, costing hundreds of thousands of pounds, claiming a steady but undramatic toll of lives, for five or 10 years?

Tam Dalyell, a mildly eccentric Scottish Labor M.P., thinks the Falklands could turn into Britain's Vietnam. The war, he insists, "is a process which for Britain has no favorable end." That may or may not be the case. But there are few here who would argue with the proposition that victory at Stanley, to use Churchill's phrase, will be only "the end of the beginning" for Britain.

## Pope Takes Prayers for Peace to Argentina

**P**OPE John Paul II brought his prayers for peace in the Falkland Islands to Argentina last week, on a mission that was described as pastoral but could not help being largely political.

The Pope had ended his historic trip to Britain just eight days earlier. His 22-hour visit here on Thursday and Friday, squeezed in at the last moment, was meant to maintain diplomatic balance and underline his appeals for an end to the fighting.

In an airport speech with President Leopoldo F. Galtieri standing at his side, the Pope said in Spanish, "Let me demand from the governments and the international community suitable measures to avoid greater

damage, to heal the wounds of war, and to favor the re-establishment of the terms of a just and durable peace."

The term "just peace" drew applause, as it had in Britain. So far, however, both sides claim justice is theirs. General Galtieri, who stood next to John Paul during his airport speech, insisted: "Argentina will not capitulate. I repeat, Argentina will not capitulate."

He still apparently had the support of most of his 28 million countrymen, their pride bolstered by the successful attack last week on Britons landing at Pleasant Bay.

Citizens waved blue and white Argentine flags along with yellow and white Vatican ones and chanted "Ar-

gentina, Argentina" throughout the Pontiff's tour.

A great many Argentines never wanted to fight on the islands, however, and their hope for peace partly accounted for the size of the crowds, totaling millions, that turned out to see John Paul. The belief that he might somehow stop the fighting and dying was repeatedly affirmed by ordinary Argentines, 93 percent of them Roman Catholics.

The Pope, appearing somber to the point of despondency, said that he had brought no plans, and he tried to remain scrupulously neutral. He could only pray for the "victims of both sides," he said.

—EDWARD SCHUMACHER

## The World

## In Summary

## Schmidt Takes A Loss On His Own Turf

While West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt had his sights set on the Versailles summit last week, his political base cracked beneath him. Voters in his home town of Hamburg dealt the Chancellor and the Social Democrats their worst defeat there since World War II.

The Social Democratic Party lost more than its state parliamentary majority to the Christian Democrats. Also threatened is the Chancellor's national ruling coalition with the Free Democrats, who failed to win the 5 percent of the vote required for parliamentary representation.

If the Free Democrats should switch allegiance to the ascendant Christian Democrats for the September state elections in Hesse, the Bonn alliance — and Mr. Schmidt's Government — could collapse.

All three parties were alarmed by the third-place showing of the Green-Alternative List, an alliance of left-wing environmentalist groups opposed to nuclear arms and nuclear energy. It picked up nine seats in Hamburg and now has representatives in five provincial parliaments.

Mr. Schmidt, the picture of stability in the 1970's, when other Western leaders were harried by inflation and recession, is grappling with a stagnant economy and a growing "peace" movement, among other distractions.

He called a parliamentary vote of

confidence in February — in face of a left-wing challenge in his own party and falling approval ratings — and reshuffled his Cabinet in April. An 8.2 percent unemployment rate, the highest in 29 years, has eroded traditional working-class support for the Social Democrats.

## End of the Road At Ndjamena

Civil war comes naturally to artificial states like Chad, which was carved out of the desert in colonial times and has been in various stages of unrest since independence from France 22 years ago. Last week, rebel forces led by former Defense Minister Hissen Habré easily took the capital, Ndjamena, and crushed the regime of President Goukouni Oueddei. Mr. Goukouni fled to neighboring Cameroon, along with a quarter of Ndjamena's other residents.

Mr. Goukouni's fate was sealed in November when he asked Libya to withdraw its troops, which had been in Chad since December 1980. In apparent retaliation, the Libyans, who had pushed Mr. Habré's Armed Forces of the North to the Sudanese border, withdrew, stirring arms and creating a power vacuum. The rebels took the offensive, sidestepping a



Hissen Habré

peacekeeping contingent from the Organization of African Unity, which had been pressuring Mr. Goukouni to negotiate with Mr. Habré.

Libya's Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, due to become the O.A.U.'s next chairman, reportedly ignored the Chad President's pleas last month for renewed help. Mr. Habré was backed by Egypt and the Sudan in his two-year push to defeat Mr. Goukouni, a fellow Moslem who was his comrade-in-arms in battles against Christian and animist blacks of southern Chad who lost power in 1979.

Demonstrations of support in Ndjamena reportedly followed the rebels' victory, indicating, perhaps,

more of an enthusiasm for peace than for the latest rulers. But the fighting continues in southern Chad, and Mr. Habré has asked the O.A.U. forces to remain.

## Tanaka's Turn Is Coming Up

The law drew a slightly tighter circle around former Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka last week with the conviction of two former government officials in the Lockheed payoff scandal.

Mr. Tanaka, who resigned from the ruling Liberal Democratic Party in 1976 after he was indicted in the case, faces trial next year on charges that he accepted more than \$2 million in bribes from Lockheed Aircraft Corporation.

The verdict, which came after a five-year legal battle and was the first to involve politicians, included references to payoffs made to Mr. Tanaka and implicated two current members of the ruling Liberal Democratic government.

Mr. Tanaka, who maintains he is innocent, remains one of the most formidable figures in Japanese politics — a behind-the-scenes kingmaker who, as an independent in Parliament, played a crucial role in bringing Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki to power. Despite impressive evidence against Mr. Tanaka —

Lockheed officials testified in 1976 that they had delivered the money to him in cardboard boxes — he has managed to delay his trial, with appeals, could last into the late 1980's.

## Spanish Party Chief Resigns

Spain's waning Communist Party is split and one faction wants to restore the firm grasp of Moscow discipline. Last week, Santiago Carrillo, a leading exponent of Eurocommunist independence that has included open criticism of Soviet interference in Poland, Afghanistan and elsewhere, resigned as secretary general.

Mr. Carrillo had been accused of authoritarian inflexibility in running the party's internal affairs. Leading party intellectuals have resigned and Marcelino Camacho, leader of the Communist-dominated Workers' Commissions union, joined the critics chorus. The party did poorly in recent regional elections and, as the intellectuals retreated, pro-Soviet militants pushed forward. Mr. Carrillo, who still retains control of the party bureaucracy, has accused them of receiving support from the Soviet Embassy in Madrid.

Barbara Slavitt,  
Katherine J. Roberts  
and Milt Freudenheim

## Even Hanoi's Friends Have Started Blaming the System Instead of the War

## Economically, Vietnam Is Losing the Peace

By COLIN CAMPBELL

Colin Campbell recently accompanied a group of American veterans on a visit to Vietnam.

The Vietnamese economy is in a shambles and Communists and Western economists, in varying degrees, cite war and the huge military establishment as primary causes. But even Vietnamese leaders are beginning to concede that part of the blame must be placed upon government mismanagement, rigid policies, lack of popular support, official corruption and general weariness.

Signs of deep trouble are everywhere. City streets are full of people with little to do but walk, sit or ride their bikes. Consumer goods are extraordinarily scarce, even more so in orthodox Hanoi than in Ho Chi Minh City, an incorrigible center of enterprise. The best hotels cannot find light bulbs. Apartments in a six-year-old housing complex lack running water.

Vietnam reported it produced 15 million tons of food grains last year. The performance, largely a result of allowing some private farmers in the south to sell in an expanded free market, was an improvement over previous years, when floods and other calamities necessitated millions of tons of rice and wheat imports. But imports were sharply reduced to pay the suddenly tripled price of Soviet-supplied oil and Vietnamese nutrition suffered — the people are thin. United Nations experts report most get insufficient calories.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam has suffered repeated failures in industrial projects. Lack of raw materials, spare parts, competent managers and engineers has caused even Communist aid missions to demand fundamental changes. Non-Communist aid missions voiced similar complaints before World Bank, Japanese and much other aid was frozen after Vietnam invaded Cambodia in December 1978.

The most frustrated donor may be Sweden, after a decade of trying to get a computerized \$600 million paper mill going at Bai Bang, north of Hanoi. Despite the labors of more than 600 Swedes billeted in an air-conditioned village, the facility is still not fully operational and Sweden is absorbing the costs. Vietnam has extensive forests but

pulp is being shipped in from Sweden. Western diplomats said.

Technicians and diplomats from Eastern Europe have lately admitted to similar frustrations. A Hungarian-backed shoe factory reportedly turns out shoes too shoddy for export. East German technicians at a textile project in Da Nang, a European diplomat said, were arrested after coming to blows with Vietnamese co-workers over how to run things. Nikolai K. Baibakov, chairman of the Soviet state planning committee, is said to have demanded unsuccessfully in Hanoi last fall that Soviet managers be placed in charge of all Soviet projects.

## Money and Oil Shortages

Exports last year dropped while prices increased for imported oil, fabric for the textile industry, machinery and most other necessities. Hanoi's foreign currency reserves stood at exactly zero by February of this year, according to a confidential April 29 report by the International Monetary Fund. As of last Dec. 31, it was \$38 million behind in payments to non-Communist lenders.

After sharp economic declines in 1979 and 1980, last year was a good one for rice, light industry and some cash crops. But "such key industries as steel, fertilizer, textiles and cement showed significant declines, mainly because of poor management and continued shortages of raw materials and spare parts," the fund said. For lack of payment, Iraq has stopped supplying oil. Aviation fuel is short; flights between Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City have been cut back. Loans from Libya and Algeria have been rescheduled. A \$30 million textile project financed by Italy, Belgium and West Germany is near collapse.

Official statements continue to blame the grim picture on "30 years of war," American bombings, the destruction of agricultural land by defoliants and the death or displacement of millions of people. They also point to hostile China, requiring Vietnam to keep large numbers of troops (as many as 40 divisions, intelligence sources say) on the Chinese border and in Cambodia. Hanoi also blames its troubles on United States actions in drying up international aid and on domestic "reactionaries," including ethnic Chinese and southerners irreparably corrupted, it says, by the former United States presence.

But Western analysts, increasingly joined by European Communists, stress managerial difficulties. The

state-run economy, although less centralized and less fond of heavy industry than before 1979, they say, is still clumsy, slow to make decisions, inflexible on prices, indifferent to export opportunities based on cheap labor, oblivious to quality controls and innocent of the rigors of international trade. Managers are said to be unwilling to take responsibility; workers lack incentives. Western governments, defending their aid cutoff, point to the drain on the economy of the Cambodia occupation. The military absorbs much of the scarce supply of administrators and technicians. (Unlike the Vietnamese, few Western analysts believe that hundreds of thousands of soldiers could easily be transformed into useful workers.)

Criticism by foreign Communists, Western creditors and many angry Vietnamese may be taking effect. The longtime officials and old warriors who run the country may be ready to loosen the economic reins a bit. Vietnamese officials have admitted to Western visitors, moreover, that "socialist transformation" of the south — including collectivized farming — will take longer than expected. And Sweden reportedly is being allowed to take control of its monumental paper mill.

Officials have also been telling Westerners that poor countries, socialist or not, lack economic and technical expertise, and that the earlier political purges of experts in the south may have been a mistake. They speak of dreadful bureaucrats, opportunists in the party, the importance of family planning (the population is 55 million and growing at least 2.4 percent a year) and the need to recruit young party members. Occasionally, they even acknowledge what impresses many visitors as widespread weariness behind their good cheer and good manners — cynicism toward the Government and impatience to reap the benefits of peace. "They are on their knees," said a European diplomat in Hanoi. "I think they will have to make changes soon, to become less rigid."

His opinion is widely shared among Westerners in Hanoi. But other observers point to the entrenched realities of state planning and poverty, and the declaration at the Fifth Communist Party Congress in March that the socialist transformation of the south must inevitably, albeit more carefully, proceed. Nearly all analysts, Vietnamese and foreign, well-wishers and enemies, agree that the economic crisis is authentic. Most believe that mastering it will require profound reforms.



Workers at the Reunification Electric Fan factory in Ho Chi Minh City.

BROADWAY 80

i'm glad I changed...

## DISARMAMENT: Two Perspectives Underline the Difficulty of Reducing Nuclear Forces

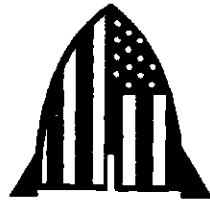
## The World

Continued



## Washington: It's Time for Really Hard Bargaining

By LESLIE H. GELB



WASHINGTON — President Reagan has now put three sweeping and dramatic arms control proposals to the Soviet Union — on long-range nuclear missiles, on medium range missiles in Europe and on conventional forces in Central Europe. The birthing of each was long and painful. A number of senior officials in the Reagan Administration still feel very uncomfortable about such negotiations with Moscow.

The leaders of the Reagan Administration have not been anti-arms control in their rhetoric. Hardly any political leader or would-be high official would take such a stand. But almost to a man, they have spent a good deal of the last decade arguing that arms control as practiced by the Nixon, Ford and Carter Administrations has been wrong. Now they have their chance to fix what they see as the mistakes of the past.

Reagan officials came into office in 1981 saying that arms control, along with détente, was a Russian trick to lull the American people into a false sense of security. In their view, past Administrations had been too eager for arms treaties with Moscow, resulting in the Russians out-bargaining the Americans and in agreements that effectively condemned the United States to military inferiority. They made much of the fact that Russia had been mounting a major nuclear buildup, a fact that had not been catching the eye of most liberal strategists. Downplaying the existence of 9,000 American long-range nuclear warheads and bombs, they campaigned hard for what they called American nuclear "rearmament." They also believed Washington was not tough enough on verification provisions to insure that Moscow would comply with the agreements. Thus, in their view, Moscow not only got the better of the deals, but was left free to cheat as well.

The original plan of the Reagan Administration was to rearm and wait. The first order of business was to get a \$1.6 trillion rearmament program under way, and let the missiles sink in with Moscow. But in the meantime, pressure began to build, upsetting the timetable. For one, disarmament groups were reborn and reinvigorated in Europe and America at least partly as a consequence of so much loose talk by Administration leaders about fighting and winning nuclear wars. For another, the absence of any arms control talks and any real dialogue between the two superpowers was beginning to alarm Western European leaders and American legislators. It began to look as if Mr. Reagan was not merely waiting, but avoiding the talks. As White House officials themselves conceded, Mr. Reagan began to take a political beating and to lose the confidence of Allied leaders.

It took Mr. Reagan almost a year to begin talks with Moscow on what is called INF, or intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe. He took a year and a half to begin the so-called START (strategic arms reductions talks) and make a proposal for reducing troops in Europe in MBFR, or mutual balanced force reductions talks. It also took a year and a half to say plainly that he would abide by the never-ratified SALT II Treaty (that he had so roundly condemned as a sell-out to Moscow) as long as Moscow held to its terms. And it took almost as long for the Administration to abandon the policy of linkage, or demanding that Moscow moderate its behavior in the world before arms control talks could begin.

But slowly, the proposals took shape. On strategic arms reduction, Mr. Reagan called for each side to reduce its missile warheads by one-third down to 5,000 on no more than 850 missiles. This would require the Russians to reduce their missile force by 1,500, compared to 850 for the United States.

On intermediate-range European forces, he pledged to forgo deployment of American Pershing 2 ballistic missiles and ground-launched cruise missiles if the Soviet Union would dismantle its force of SS-20 and other missiles.

On mutual balanced force reductions, he asked for cuts in ground forces in Central Europe of about 260,000 by the Warsaw Pact and about 90,000 by NATO to a common ceiling of 700,000, plus no more than 200,000 armor on each side.

Common threads ran throughout these proposals: • Simplicity. The judgment was that past proposals were too complicated for the public to understand. • Large reductions in forces. The Administration felt that American public opinion had been the Achilles heel of past bargaining efforts and that something dramatic was needed to mobilize support. • Disproportionate reductions by the Soviet Union. To the Reagan planners, Moscow has military superiority on all fronts, and thus it is only fair that Moscow bear the heavier burden in cuts.

• Continuing American force buildup. This is seen as essential either as a bargaining chip to cash in for Russian concessions or as a basis for an improved American military capability should negotiations fail.

In all three negotiations, the Reagan Administration is asking much more of Moscow than did the Carter Administration and offering less in return. The result would be a monumental reordering of Soviet military posture. To William G. Hyland, a former deputy national security adviser to President Ford now with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, President Reagan's "program is being put forward as a comprehensive challenge to the Soviets rather than a platform for give and take." There is a suspicion in many quarters that the Reagan Administration might be framing its proposals to "prove" Russian intransigence and justify the American military buildup.

At the same time, however, there is an appreciation that Mr. Reagan has already come a long way in his statements about nuclear war and arms control, that his language is now quite positive, and that he continues to say he will bargain "in good faith." Even those who see Mr. Reagan's rhetoric as bowing to political realities might have to admit that for a political leader there are few higher forms of sincerity. It is now up to Moscow to make counterproposals.

THE tide of popular concern over nuclear war reached new levels last week in West Germany, where more than 200,000 people took part in a demonstration coinciding with President Reagan's visit, and in yesterday's even bigger rally in New York City.

Clearly, a lot of people from the East River to the Rhine (and onward to the Volga) want disarmament. Clearly, the world's most powerful leaders are sensitive to the implications of that desire — to say nothing of the nuclear fears they themselves must harbor, knowing what they know.

The collective concern was great enough to prompt a United Nations special session on disarmament, which President Reagan and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko are expected to address this week before their two countries get down to renewed strategic arms limitation talks.

Somewhere between the universal yearning for significant arms reduction and the achievement of it, however, things go awry. When the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week rejected a

resolution calling for a freeze in Soviet and American nuclear stockpiles, for example, doubts over the wisdom of the resolution were as sincere as the motives that had inspired it.

When the forum is not the United States Senate but Geneva, technical and philosophical questions are compounded by abiding mistrust. Simply put, both Washington and Moscow might argue that the main obstacle to arms reduction is the intransigence of the other side, and that the necessary responses to this intransigence trigger the cycle that has come to be called the arms race.

In practice, of course, it is more complex than that. In the two articles on this page Leslie H. Gelb, who covers national security affairs from the New York Times's Washington bureau, and John F. Burns, chief of The Times's Moscow bureau, review recent developments in American and Soviet weapons doctrine and arms control policy. The articles help illustrate how different arsenals have evolved from close political rivalry, and suggest how difficult it would be to dismantle those arsenals even assuming the best of intentions.

## Moscow: Arms Buildup Is Economic Warfare

By JOHN F. BURNS



MOSCOW — To a Westerner with a normal degree of skepticism about Soviet intentions there is much that is manifestly specious about the Kremlin's position on arms issues. There is, for example, the Soviet official who nurses a scotch at a diplomatic reception and argues that the nature of communism and capitalism make Soviet nuclear missiles inherently defensive and their American counterparts just as certainly offensive. In the face of such arguments, one can lose sight of the fact that the Russians have real problems in coping with the improving arsenals arrayed against them by potential adversaries.

Whatever doubts there may be about Soviet integrity, there can be little question that the Kremlin wants a cap on strategic weapons. American critics of Ronald Reagan's candidacy in 1980 forecasted that the Soviet leaders would react to his election by shifting massive new resources to their military. Instead, Leonid I. Brezhnev has been beating the drums for new arms accords ever since Mr. Reagan took office. Even after Mr. Reagan secured funding for his new arms programs, Soviet pronouncements continued to emphasize the need for weapons cuts more than warnings of Soviet ability to compete in a fresh arms spiral.

Nonetheless, Mr. Brezhnev and his generals have vowed that if agreements are not reached they will take whatever steps are necessary to preserve what they call an existing "rough parity" in strategic arms. From what Western intelligence has gleaned, new weapons systems are already under development. SALT II allows each side one new intercontinental ballistic missile, and Western diplomats here assume that the Kremlin has plans to match America's MX missile. Similarly, the Russians are known to be developing a new strategic bomber as a counter to the B-1 and a new submarine-launched missile, code-named the SS-NX-20, to be stationed aboard Typhoon-class submarines that are the Soviet equivalent of the Ohio-class vessels joining the United States Navy.

But as American taxpayers know, these are enormously expensive systems. Mr. Brezhnev has referred disconsolately to the guns-or-butter debate that the Reagan rearmament program has forced on the Kremlin, saying that "for us, too" the costs of ever new and more complex weapons have become an almost unbearable burden. His marshals have speculated publicly that part of the Reagan Administration's purpose is to sabotage economic programs by forcing the shift of money to the military sector.

Privately, senior Soviet officials have acknowledged that the Kremlin has had misgivings about its out-of-hand rejection of the "deep cuts" proposal that former Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance brought to Moscow in 1977, probably because they felt that accepting the Vance approach could have halted the Reagan defense buildup before it started. Now, Mr. Brezhnev has declared Soviet readiness for sharp reductions in the two sides' arsenals but has rejected as "one-sided" and "unrealistic" the detailed proposals that Mr. Reagan advanced in his speech in Eureka, Ill., last month. Instead, he has proposed an immediate freeze in the arsenals pending completion of a pact that would ban "to the utmost" the development of new systems.

The Kremlin says that Washington's real purpose is to force a restructuring of the Soviet force, and nobody in Washington would deny that the Reagan plan would require the Russians to scrap many land-based SS-17, -18 and -19 missiles. What the Kremlin does not say publicly is that a shift to sea-based systems would expose a lag in Soviet capabilities that might take years to close. In addition, Western diplomats here believe, any such shift would run counter to a deep-rooted Soviet preference for missiles that are planted in Russian soil and free of the command problems presented by distant, submerged submarines.

Equally important to the Kremlin, the Reagan plan would leave the United States free to develop the ground-bugging, radar-erasing cruise missiles that by any reckoning must be potentially the most destabilizing systems of all. Launched from land, sea or air, they would exploit a wide American lead in electronics. One Soviet expert told a group of Americans visiting Moscow recently that Soviet disadvantages — he did not cite cruise missiles specifically — were such that the Kremlin could not hope to compete on a ruble-for-dollar, weapon-for-weapon basis, but would have to shift to a new "launch-on-warning" posture that would mean that any sign of an American attack would be met with an automatic retaliation.

On the related issue of medium-range missiles, the Soviet position is perhaps less persuasive. Having deployed at least 300 of the mobile, multiple-warhead SS-20 missiles that as yet have no counterpart in the American arsenal in Europe, the Russians are suggesting a freeze that would leave most if not all of their new missiles in place while halting deployment of the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles that the Western alliance plans to begin stationing in Europe late next year. But while SS-20's with a range of about 3,000 miles pose no threat to the American strategic arsenal, European-based Pershing 2's and cruises, with a range of about 1,500 miles, would endanger at least a portion of Soviet strategic forces. Another argument that negotiators in Geneva must contend with is that an American reckoning of the nuclear balance in Europe that omits British and French forces is by nature unrealistic.

In the Vienna talks on conventional force reductions in Europe, Soviet officials argue that the 4.5 million men the Kremlin has under arms — 60 percent higher than total United States manpower — reflect differences in strategic situations. The officials note that the Warsaw Pact must defend a territory larger than the United States, Western Europe and China combined, and do so against a potential threat from China as well as from the West. If it were not impolitic, the officials might also argue that the involuntary nature of the Pact makes Moscow's partners less reliable than America's NATO allies.

## BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS!

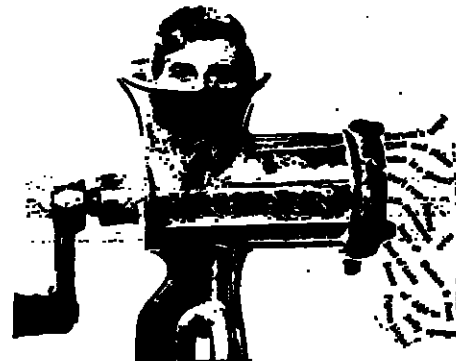
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### WITH PREJUDICE

By Alex Berlryne

Alex Berlryne's mind is either a fount of erudition or a rubbish dump, depending on your point of view. In the ten years "With Prejudice" has been appearing in *The Jerusalem Post*, the column has dealt with such abstruse topics as Anal (a language spoken in Burma and Manipur), the way Shakespeare's puns crop up in comic postcards four centuries later, and the age-old question of "Who is a Sioux?" With tongue planted firmly in cheek, Berlryne lovingly assails nearly every institution hallowed by man.

Published by Carta and The Jerusalem Post. 256 pages, hardcover, illustrated. IS 311

### STREET PEOPLE

By Helga Dudman

Dizengoff, Dora Garcia, Tchamichowsky, George Eliot, Ibn Gabirol and Selma Lagerlöf all have something in common — they became Israeli streets. STREET PEOPLE is an unusual book, which combines the stories of some fascinating people with selected short tours of the streets in Israel bearing their names. The book is as amusing as it is informative.

Published by Carta and The Jerusalem Post. 200 pages, hardcover, illustrated. IS 285

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By Israel Lippel

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Published by the Jerusalem Institute for Interreligious Relations and Research. 64 pages, paperback, indexed. IS 75

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S. Ahituv and A. Israel, eds.

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# Japan Struggling With Itself

THE TRAITS BEHIND THE 'MIRACLE' IMPOSE THEIR LIMITS.

# The Economy

## Capital

Heavy industries, such as autos, steel and shipbuilding, have tapped banks, many of which hold their shares, for loans at low interest. The system, built on debt, favors companies with ample land, plant and equipment as collateral.

## Management

Japanese middle managers, secure in their jobs and deeply loyal, have applied Western technology to create the world's most highly efficient production systems. Japan has become the lowest-cost producer of key products.

## Labor

A large base of young workers, imbued with obedience and uniformity, have accepted factory routine and run assembly lines like clockwork.

## Capital

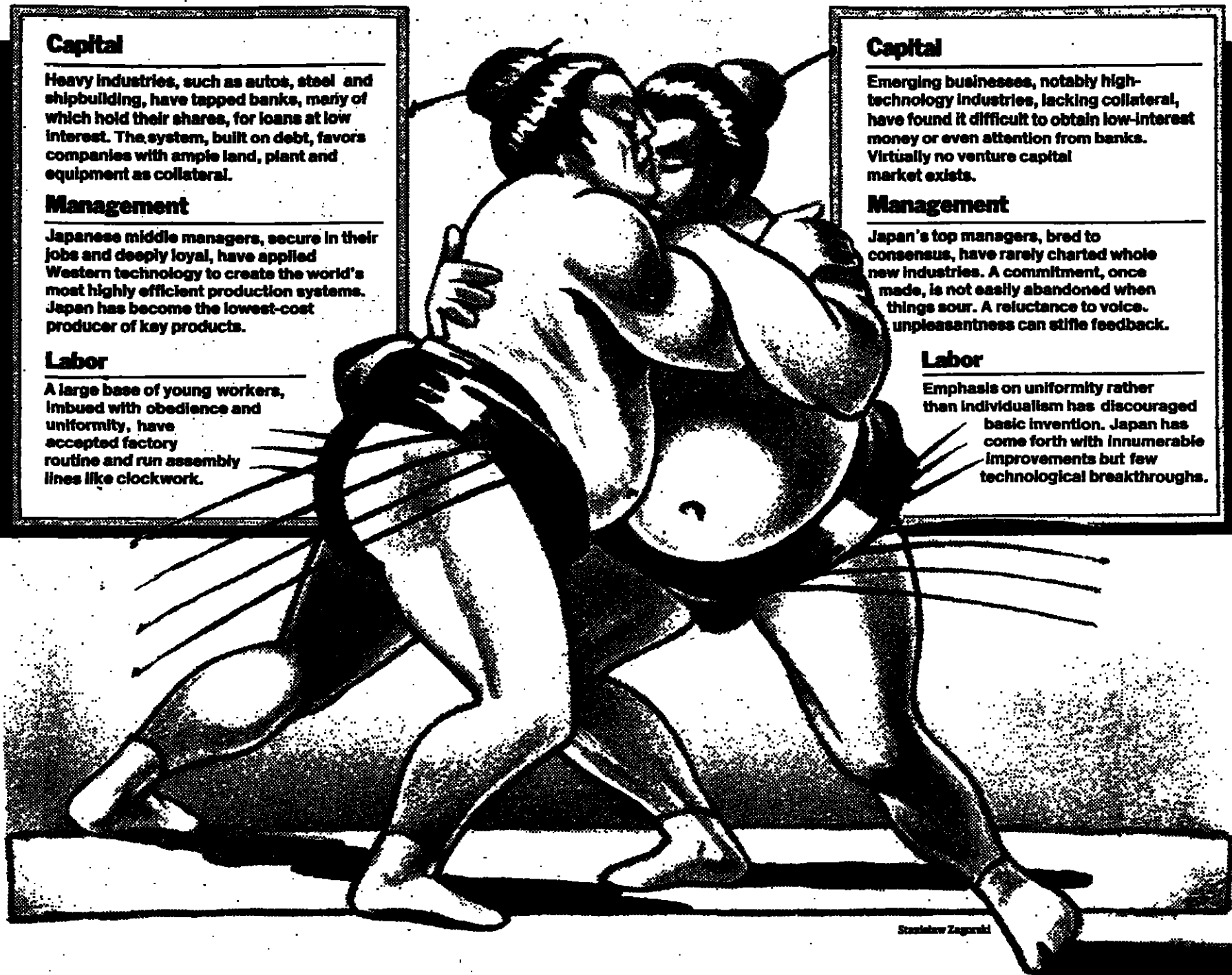
Emerging businesses, notably high-technology industries, lacking collateral, have found it difficult to obtain low-interest money or even attention from banks. Virtually no venture capital market exists.

## Management

Japan's top managers, bred to consensus, have rarely charted whole new industries. A commitment, once made, is not easily abandoned when things sour. A reluctance to voice unpleasantness can stifle feedback.

## Labor

Emphasis on uniformity rather than individualism has discouraged basic invention. Japan has come forth with innumerable improvements but few technological breakthroughs.



Shirogane Zappacchi

Some Japanese fear that the bent for consensus and uniformity handicaps Japan's economy in an era of high technology.

By STEVE LOHR

THE term "the Japanese challenge" has become a modern incantation, a phrase that instantly elicits admiration and fear in the West. Its mention summons images of devastation and layoffs in such American industries as autos and steel, and the looming Japanese threat to the high-technology industries of the future, such as computers, semiconductors and bioengineering.

But there is another Japanese challenge as well: the one within Japan. The neatly meshing Japanese system, which foreigners view with such envy, has built-in contradictions. The very forces of collectivism and social cohesion and the distinctive corporate and financial practices that have served Japan so well up to now are already coming into conflict and may hinder its economic advance in the future.

"After the war the direction was clear," said Naohiro Amaya, a former vice minister of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, who was one of the architects of Japan's industrial policies for three decades. "Japan's economy was like a train on a perfectly straight track. You didn't have to be a genius to drive that train. But the era when there were no crossroads is over. Now we are going to enter a difficult period."

Japan is already struggling to keep pace in computer

technology, an area that the nation is counting on for much of its economic growth. Though they have been billed as an ominous threat to American computer makers, the personal computers recently introduced in the United States market by the Nippon Electric Corporation and the Oki Electric Company have received a cool response, and were brushed aside as unpromising by many in the industry.

Even Japan's triumph over the United States in the development of 64K random-access memory chips is not as dramatic as it once appeared. Japan's success in this product line is not so much a bold stroke of innovation, but an extension of existing technology. Nor is it a victory over American industry as a whole, but only against those producers who sell to outside customers. I.B.M. reportedly produces more 64K RAM chips, which it then uses in its own products, than American and Japanese companies combined. Moreover, it has developed the world's largest semiconductor chip, an experimental chip with 288,000 cells.

The challenges that lay before Japan are, in essence, a series of bedding problems that must be resolved if the country is to really be No. 1, as its enthusiasts claim.

• Japan's hierarchical, seniority-based system of management, which has been so effective at coordinating the high-volume production of manufactured items, has in many instances not been flexible and fast-moving enough to navigate its way to lead in emerging markets.

• Its system of corporate finance, set up after World War II by the Bank of Japan and the Ministry of Finance to fund heavy industry, has created a mountain of debt for many companies and has proven inadequate for bankrolling innovative new industries, which typically are begun by bevy of shoestring entrepreneurs. Efforts to raise funds in the equity and capital markets have been equally troublesome.

• Perhaps most important, the country's emphasis on community, obedience and uniformity, all of which have been crucial to its highly efficient assembly lines, has discouraged individual creativity and, with it, far-reaching product innovations.

All these problems are coming into play after a long period during which Japanese industry borrowed the basic technology of the West, particularly the United States. Consequently, Japan's industrial strategy played to the strengths of its tight-knit society—namely, organizing a highly skilled work force for the mass production of goods more efficiently than competitors. "The Japanese strength is in the middle management and blue collar," Mr. Amaya, the former M.I.T.I. official, said. "Our problem is that the quality of top-level people is inferior to their counterparts in the U.S. and Europe. When there is no doubt about the direction to go, then the Japanese company is quite effective. But when we come to a crossroads, when a decision must be made about which direction to go, we are sometimes in trouble."

One example of just such trouble is Mitsui and Company's petrochemical venture in Iran. After billions of dollars and endless difficulties, the project has yet to be completed. Any trouble that might develop is likely to be exacerbated by Japan's rigid system of corporate finance. With no venture capital market to speak of, bank loans are still the basic source of funding for Japanese corporations.

By American standards, the debt to equity ratio of the average Japanese concern is alarmingly high, with about 85 percent debt and 15 percent equity. "There is doubt whether this system will be viable in the future as we have to develop new industries," Akio Mikumi, a Tokyo financial consultant to many Japanese companies, said.

The current method of financing was established under Government direction after World War II. Japan has a collateral lending system. Simply put, this means that bank loans at the lowest interest rates are given to companies with the most assets, such as land, plant and equipment—all of which serve as collateral on the loans. It was a system designed to finance the development of heavy industry in the postwar period, such as shipbuilding and steel. The assets, or collateral, are the stuff of which heavy industry is made.

Many companies are trying to break away from bank loans by raising money in capital markets, but often cor-

porate executives are not up to the task. Roughly 50 Japanese companies issued convertible debentures in the European market last year, for instance, but "many of them were unsuccessful in that the price went down right after the issue," said David S. Phillips, a managing director of Morgan Stanley & Company in Tokyo.

The reason for the poor timing of some of the issues, Mr. Phillips explained, was that once a Japanese company has announced the date and pricing of its issue it will rarely change dates, even though the market may have turned unfavorable. "Japanese companies are far less likely to postpone or change the timing of an issue," Mr. Phillips says, "because saving face, keeping up appearances is much more important to Japanese companies and executives."

The high-fixed interest costs of carrying debt from the public and private sector have pushed Japanese companies to look at the equity market as a possible source of funds at a lower price.

Yet there is a drawback in equity financing, too. One of the much-praised virtues of Japanese corporate management is its patience. The Japanese take the long-term view, as it is often said, and do not strain to report high short-term profits. A key reason Japanese executives have the luxury of taking such a stance is that their companies generally depend so little on the stock market. But if companies gradually come to depend more on the equity market for funds, they will eventually come under greater pressure from shareholders to post near-term profits, just like American corporations.

Although Japan's financing problems are obstacles to future growth, there are many who are far more concerned with Japan's ability to invent. Success in this area will be among the most important factors for the nation's economic future and, many say, the acid test of its society. Japan has come up with precious few basic contributions to scientific theory or breakthrough technologies. To date, its innovative skill has been in refining, repackaging or miniaturizing existing technologies. Recognizing the shortcoming in basic research, the Japanese Government is investing heavily on scientific education and research facilities, including an entire science city in Tsukuba, about 30 miles north of Tokyo.

The funding for scientific education will undoubtedly increase the volume of researchers and engineers, markedly increasing the pool of such workers that high-technology companies can choose from. But many Japanese and foreign analysts doubt how successful the forced-march approach to creativity will be in the context of Japanese culture. The values of community and collectivism are stressed. Confucian hierarchy, respect for one's elders and superiors are traditions that go back thousands of years. Western notions of individualism are not part of this tradition. And the record of history shows that genius is not a group experience.

Many of Japan's leading scientists have fled the country, either to do research in the West and then return or to leave for good. Japan has had very few Nobel Prize winners. Leo Esaki is one of Japan's four Nobel laureates in science, and one of only two surviving today. Mr. Esaki, who discovered the tunnel effect in semiconductors, lives in the United States and works as a research fellow for the International Business Machines Corporation.

"The Japanese never challenge the unknown," Mr. Esaki was quoted as saying in an interview last year. "There is a lack of the spirit of exploration. Eventually, you come down to the lack of individualism."

For this reason, many contend that the Japanese semiconductor companies are far behind the American industry in microprocessors—the best known of the logic chips, which perform arithmetic functions. Microprocessors require shorter design times and more innovative skill to develop. "In microprocessors, the U.S. has the clear lead and it looks like it will keep that lead through the 1990's," Benjamin M. Rosen, an independent analyst in New York, said.

Similarly, the United States still retains a sizable edge in computer software—the electronic instructions that tell computers what to do. Japan has made impressive strides in developing software systems for such applications as airline reservations and electronic banking. Yet traditionally, the business has been largely a cottage industry and the best software writers have often been prickly eccentrics working alone, sometimes literally in mountain retreats.

"There is still a big gap on the science side of technology," said Hideji Sugiyama, a top electronics official at M.I.T.I., who separates technological development into basic science and mass production. Japan has excelled in the latter but not the former, he contends.

It seems that Japan's apparent problems in creative fields can be traced to the same cultural values that give it an edge in terms of manufacturing discipline on the factory floor. But even that edge may be disappearing as Japan faces the economic consequences of the rapid aging of its society.

Yet this Japanese advantage is fast disappearing. It is doing so because the so-called economic miracle of the postwar years has so materially improved the quality of life in Japan. The average life expectancy has jumped from 55 years in 1949 to 76 years today.

## THE WEEK IN BUSINESS

# House Finally Passes Budget Plan

The House passed a budget for the year beginning Oct. 1 that calls for big increases in military spending at the expense of social programs. The plan, which now goes to a House-Senate conference committee, calls for a deficit of \$89.3 billion. The vote, breaking a long stalemate, was a victory for President Reagan.

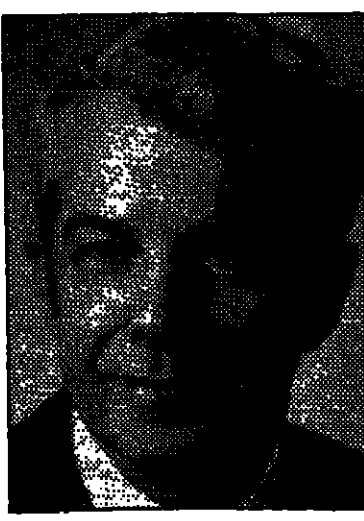
The United States set stiff penalties on steel imports from nine nations, charging that they illegally subsidized exports to this country. The Commerce Department made its determination after studying steel imports that totaled 3.9 million tons last year and accounted for 4 percent of consumption. European nations threatened to retaliate against American products.

Consumer debt rose \$480 million in April to a seasonally adjusted \$1.18 billion, the biggest rise in seven months, the Federal Reserve Board reported. The major factor was a \$233 million rise in auto purchase loans, the first increase in this sector this year. Analysts cautioned that the gain, while encouraging, was not a firm indication of waning recession.

Producers Prices were unchanged in May, the third straight month of stable prices. The Labor Department said that declining energy costs offset food-price gains. The report bolstered forecasts that inflation will be well below the 7 percent of 1981.

## Mesa-Cities Service Duel

Both are in the traditionally hard hat oil business, but the rival corporate chairmen in the merger battle between Cities Service and Mesa Petroleum present a contrast. Charles J. Waldeich of Cities Service (right) fits the orthodox board room mold. His counterpart at Mesa, T. Boone Pickens Jr., might be cast as the freewheeling entrepreneur. Mr. Waldeich, a 53-year-old civil engineer, operates through legal and investment counselors. Mr. Pickens, who is 54, is a geologist who goes on field trips to win support for his takeover campaign. Meanwhile, the battle, with bids in the billions, continues with Mr. Waldeich observing, "I am going to have to get out more."



Business inventories rose \$892 million, or two-tenths of 1 percent, in April after a small decline in March. The inventory-to-sales ratio rose to 1.50, from 1.48.

The nation's basic money supply rose \$1.5 billion, to a seasonally adjusted average of \$452.8 billion. The rise pushed up interest rates that had

begun to decline after the House approved a Federal budget.

Stock prices raced ahead on Friday, as the Dow Jones average gained 11.63 points on news of the House budget vote and stable producer prices. For the week, the average gained 8.38 points.

Olympia Brewing agreed to be ac-

quired by Pabst for \$98.9 million in cash and securities. The transaction will create the nation's fourth-largest brewery.

Warner-Lambert plans to buy all shares of the IMED Corporation, a medical electronic equipment maker, for \$465 million "in anticipation of a major stake in an exploding field."

Best Products agreed to acquire Modern Merchandising in a transaction valued at \$111 million. Both companies operate catalogue showrooms.

National Steel offered to sell its Weirton, W. Va., division to its 8,500 employees under an employee stock ownership plan if the workers can raise the \$250 million it might take.

Mobil said it would end its oil production and exploration in Libya by July 13. Exxon announced its withdrawal from the North African country last November.

A.T.&T. and dozens of other communications companies filed applications with the Federal Communications Commission for permission to offer a new type of mobile telephone service in 30 large cities. MCI barged that A.T.&T. and the G.T.E. had conspired to capture 29 of the 30 markets; A.T.&T. called the charge "nonsense."

## The New York Stock Exchange

### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED JUNE 11, 1982

(Consolidated)

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
IBM	5,773,800	59%	- %
Mesa Pt	5,241,200	18%	- %
Schlomb	3,461,500	41	+ %
Chl Svc	3,297,700	34%	- %
Exxon	2,835,000	28%	+ %
Sony Cp	2,705,300	13%	- %
A Hoepr	2,651,800	41%	+ 1
ATT	2,605,800	52%	+ 1
Int Tech	2,573,800	36%	+ %
G Mot	2,544,000	45%	+ 2
Ford M	2,347,700	22%	+ %
Tandy	2,294,100	28%	+ 2
Ea Kod	1,988,100	70%	- %
Hew IP	1,964,300	40%	- 1
Mobil	1,957,000	24%	+ %

### MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	947	563
Declines	920	1,258
Total Issues	2,105	2,076
New Highs	29	20
New Lows	349	227

### VOLUME

(A.P.M. New York Close)

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	286,794,480	5,824,067,717
Same Per. 1981	250,729,370	5,502,198,778

### WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High Low Last Change

	High	Low	Last	Change
New York Stock Exchange				
Indust	72.87	70.74	72.54	+0.72
Transp	63.93	52.25	53.88	+0.56
Util	37.80	37.31	37.87	+0.09
Finance	64.09	62.63	63.98	+0.12
Composite	64.05	62.48	63.94	+0.52

### Standard & Poor's

	125.4	120.7	124.3	+1.44
400 Indust				
20 Transp	17.6	18.8	17.4	+0.26
40 Util	58.1	51.9	52.8	-0.05
40 Finance	12.7	12.2	12.6	+0.06
500 Stocks	112.1	108.0	111.2	+1.15

### Dow Jones

	315.9	298.7	309.7	+4.76
30 Indust				
20 Transp	321.5	308.3	318.5	+1.43
15 Util	111.0	108.3	109.9	-0.56
65 Comb	319.1	308.9	316.6	+1.17

### The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED JUNE 11, 1982

(Consolidated)

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng
DomeP	2,980,800	5	- %
Wang B	837,500	29%	+ 2%
Heizer	751,800	7%	- %
RangO	372,500	5%	- %
GlCo	354,400	10%	- %
Kalstad	345,700	24%	+ %
HouOTr	323,300	13%	+ %
PortSy	290,300	10%	- 1%
ChmpH	278,800	3	+ %
KeyPh	238,800	31%	+ 1%

### MARKET DIARY

	Last Week	Prev. Week
Advances	317	231
Declines	425	511
Total Issues	917	909
New Highs	15	15
New Lows	97	68

### VOLUME

(A.P.M. New York Close)

	Last Week	Year To Date
Total Sales	19,096,080	475,545,675
Same Per. 1981	28,873,220	652,865,490



# The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935  
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961  
ORVILLE D. DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1982

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher  
A. M. ROSENTHAL, Executive Editor  
SEYMOUR TROPP, Managing Editor  
ARTHUR GELB, Deputy Managing Editor  
JAMES L. GREENFIELD, Assistant Managing Editor  
LOUIS SILVERSTEIN, Assistant Managing Editor  
MAX FRANKEL, Editorial Page Editor  
JACK ROSENTHAL, Deputy Editorial Page Editor  
CHARLOTTE CURTIS, Associate Editor  
TOM WICKER, Associate Editor  
JOHN D. POMFRET, Exec. V.P., General Manager  
DONALD A. NEZIN, Sr. V.P., Consumer Marketing  
LANCE R. PRIMOR, Sr. V.P., Advertising  
J. A. RIGGS JR., Sr. V.P., Operations  
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, V.P., Controller  
ELISE J. ROSS, V.P., Systems

## Beyond Anxiety

Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators in New York's Central Park can't be wrong. For peace, against war, for disarmament, against nukes — whatever their anxieties and ambitions, people in such numbers represent strong and widely shared emotions. They are a force that did not exist in America's first three atomic decades.

People want a voice in what is done in their defense. They want the concepts of nuclear strategy squared with the values of American society. They want to help manage what they cannot escape, the risks of annihilation.

Yet the very size and fervor of this movement make it inarticulate. It is one thing to have forced the Reagan Administration to recognize the political limits on nuclear bluster and the yearning for arms control. It is quite another to shape policies that address the reality of these horrendous weapons and erect barriers against their use.

The problem is intellectual, not technical; any thoughtful citizen can address it. One good place to begin is with those marchers who would eliminate the problem by banning the Bomb. They're dreaming. The Bomb cannot be disinvented; no force on earth can reliably destroy all nuclear weapons or guard against the making of more.

Also fatuous is the opposite aspiration of those who would make nuclear war fightable, survivable, even winnable. Humanity may be mad enough to write rules that would "limit" the killing to scores of millions, but neither nature nor human nature would obey those rules once the missiles fly.

The problem is that nuclear weapons are here to stay — yet cannot be used. Their only sane function is to prevent outraged nations from firing the first nuclear shot: to deter by threatening intolerable retaliation. Effective deterrence would still leave

risks of accident and irrationality; and it has no answer for what to do if it fails. But those are subtleties so long as there is not even stable deterrence.

Deterrence can reduce the danger of nuclear war if nuclear nations agree to be deterred by leaving themselves open to unbearable devastation. For that, the nature of their weapons counts even more than the number. Weapons that would protect against retaliation — like the anti-missile missiles outlawed in Salt I — can be more dangerous than many weapons of attack. Deterrence could be damaged by nonnuclear inventions, like devices that would locate now undetectable submarines. It might not survive a freeze on nuclear arsenals; even incautious reductions could damage it.

And paradoxically, a threat to one side's retaliatory power cannot be offset by a counterthreat. In the logic of deterrence, a double vulnerability to first-strike is no safer than a single one. What must be mutual is confidence that no first-strike can avert a devastating response.

Negotiations are the only way to reach that confidence; they test commitment to deterrence, expose insecurities and bargain away the most worrisome weapons. But self-imposed restraints can also help — not building first-strike weapons, for example, and putting in safer environments those presumed vulnerable to a first-strike.

In response to the public ferment, the Reagan Administration has at last conceded the value of negotiation and of observing past agreements. Its strategic planning, however, like the Soviet Union's, still harbors contradictory urges toward first-strike "superiority" and second-strike "defenses." The nuclear nations still have much to learn from citizens who march and mobilize — if those citizens now master the arcane vocabulary and logic of stable deterrence. Anxiety is not enough.

## The White House vs. Children's Health

About two million poor children whose parents cannot afford medical checkups for them benefit from a Federal adjunct of Medicaid known as the Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis and Treatment Program. Last year, apparently believing such a service is better left to states, the Administration tried to eliminate it legislatively. Rebuffed by Congress, the White House is now trying a flank attack by deregulators.

If regulations drafted at the Department of Health and Human Services take effect, little more than the program's initials would survive. Although department spokesmen now disown the draft, the program's advocates fret that the callous attack on poor children may not be over. It is astonishing that such an assault was ever launched.

The screening program dates to the late 1960's, when the armed forces discovered that many low-income recruits to be physically unfit. Congress instructed states to seek out, examine and treat children of Medicaid-eligible families and Federal offi-

cials wrote regulations that spell out the state obligations in detail.

Those regulations and the program's price — more than \$1 billion a year — disturbed the Reagan Administration. The drafted new regulations no longer specify the tests and immunization shots that children are to receive. They also relieve states of any obligation to encourage participation or to follow up on detected ailments. Instead of simplifying the rules for efficiency, the draft would leave the thoroughness of examinations up to the states.

The first objection to this relaxation is principle: poor children, no less than rich, deserve healthy childhoods. Then there is a powerful practical point. Everyone agrees that preventive care saves the taxpayers money. It costs far less to immunize and educate Medicaid families than to treat them after they get sick.

Apparently the uproar has left these draft regulations stalled on Secretary Schweiker's desk. Their fitting destination is his circular file.

## A Filibuster? On Voting? In 1982?

Senator Jesse Helms promises to filibuster "until the cows come home" to prevent a vote on the Voting Rights Act. But the debate is over and the cows are coming home. Though he is taking days to say it, the North Carolina obstructionist has nothing new to say. Underneath it all there is an old message.

Senate Republican leaders say they will conduct "shuttle diplomacy" with him and the handful of other opponents of the bill. But since the votes for cloture are amply available, this seems pointless. The drafting, improving and compromising are done, yet Senator Helms won't even agree to a preliminary motion to take up the bill for debate. All temporizing could accomplish is snarl it in other Senate business — as the August deadline for renewing key voting rights provisions approaches.

The House passed an extended, improved version of the law last fall by an overwhelming 389 to 24. The Senate Judiciary Committee reported a bill so popular that President Reagan embraced it. Four-

fifths of the Senate favors that bill. Senator John Stennis of Mississippi, up for re-election, suddenly sees its merit.

But Senator Helms drones on. Most of his complaints about "regional discrimination" are as hollow as they were when raised against the original 1965 Voting Rights law that has enfranchised — and elected — so many minority citizens. His charge that the law would create racial election quotas is fully answered in the compromise worked out with the important help of Senator Dole.

The Senator's demonstration, if more genteel in phrasing, is no less mean-spirited and no less an anachronism than those of the Thurmmonds and Eastlands who once made the word "filibuster" redolent of racism. Even those few legislators who remain openly opposed to racial equality are embarrassed into silence when the subject is voting, the right that preserves other rights. Is Senator Helms beyond embarrassment? It's time for the Senate to stop the talking and do some voting of its own.

### Topics

## Hidden Treasures

### Prop Art

The auctioning of a tiny sled named Rosebud for \$50,000 suggests that prop art could be the newest form of gold in the hills of Hollywood. "Rosebud" was the word the dying Citizen Kane gasped out, referring to a cheap sled taken from him when he was a child. The final shot in the great 1941 film shows what looks like the real Rosebud being tossed in a furnace by indifferent workmen. In fact, says Sotheby Parke Bernet, three balsa sleds were used for the film and what it was putting up for sale is the last survivor.

That is why producer Steven Spielberg eagerly bid \$55,000 plus a 10 percent buyer's fee. But is the sled the only authentic Rosebud? Here comes the interesting catch in prop art. A Port Jefferson film buff claims that he won the real Rosebud as a contest prize back in 1941.

Wherever there is money in collectibles, there are bound to be fakes and arguments over authenticity. Who will claim to have found the trenchcoat worn by Humphrey Bogart in "Casablanca"? And how will he be able to prove it? There are also bound to be those who bet on the future of the market. For Mr. Spielberg himself now to autograph the harpoons really used in his own modern classic, "Jaws," would be prudent, though some might say improper.

### Noble Grit

If the Bronx Grit Chamber had been built recently, it probably would have looked like a building in which sewage is screened — which is to say plain. But it was built 45 years ago, and the architectural firm of McKim, Mead and White made it fancy, with a monu-

mental arch and eight colossal pilasters. It was the architectural equivalent of Wordsworth's lost love Lucy — a building which there were none to praise and very few to love. Until this month.

Now, thanks to the Landmarks Preservation Commission, it's been declared "a real gem" and a city landmark. Which means that though the Bronx Grit Chamber is still half hidden from the eye, that part of Bruckner Boulevard being a somewhat untrodden way, it will no longer live unknown, nor will it cease to be. And, oh, the difference from Lucy!

### Action, Not Abortion

A topic last Friday referred to the Chicago-based Pro-Life Abortion League. Our apologies: it's the Pro-Life Action League.

### Letters

## Fear Won't Drive Disarmament

To the Editor:

In the sincere desire to contribute to the nuclear disarmament movement, I wish to raise a question that I know will be unpopular.

In its simplest form my question is, "Does fear of nuclear warfare decrease the arms race, the probability of war, or the use of nuclear arms in a war?"

This question is relevant because the thrust of all protest against nuclear armament is to increase fear. Putting the question in a somewhat different form, "Has there ever been a weapon that has been suppressed?"

Behavioral science has made some preliminary studies of the effectiveness of a strategy that increases fear of some action in the hopes of decreasing it (for example, smoking) and has found it to be a rather ineffective one.

Fear of nuclear warfare, that is, fear of attack, is what is behind the proliferation of weapons. A crude formula for predicting a nation arming itself can be expressed by fear of attack times fear believed engendered in others by the arms being stockpiled. Fear, fear, fear is what is behind the whole problem. Why then plan immense rallies to spread even more fear?

One answer, of course, is that we have no other strategy, and that sufficient protest might influence governments. But if we are so afraid that there is unprecedented pressure on governments, then they too will be afraid. The result will be more, not less, atomic weaponry.

In the interest of developing a dialogue on alternative strategies to the induction of fear, we might consider the solution of simple societies: exogamy. In a primitive culture, war with neighbors was averted by intermarriage. The modern equivalent would be economic interdependence as well as increased social intercourse.

It is therefore particularly distressing to see that President Reagan is speaking of nuclear disarmament and increased trade restrictions. What would happen if immense rallies all around the world protested for the reduction of barriers to trade and travel in the interest of world peace? There would be a price for such changes, but it might buy us a world with less to fear.

As cynical as it might sound, one Pepsi plant in Russia is worth a million frightened people at a two-hour rally.

RICHARD RABKIN  
New York, June 4, 1982

## Turn the Blackboard Into a Video Game

To the Editor:

The issue over video arcade games seems to me an astounding waste of energy, effort that begs to be better spent (Issue and Debate [June 3]: "Should Video Games Be Restricted by Law?").

I challenge educators (and game makers) to tap the "magnetic pull" of video games and lure our children into the classroom with the same attraction that lures them to the arcades.

Consider that computer-aided education, up to this point, has not really caught on. After all, how many children do you know who actually learn with a computer today? The problem, though debated, appears to be a lack of appealing courseware, or programs that teach.

Yet the same technology that brings us the computer (especially the so-called personal computer) brings us the video arcade game. I'm an engineer. The technology of video disks and home computers could easily combine to give much-needed quality education the graphic excitement and competi-



Ruth Tolan

tive allure of video arcade games. But what will it take to turn this issue around? The current debate is a swamp. It holds no reward, but to drain us of precious time and energy.

GIL BASSAK  
Scarsdale, N.Y., June 4, 1982

## Why Do Free-Traders Oppose Reciprocity?

To the Editor:

Jeffrey J. Schott, in a May 24 Op-Ed article ("No Trade Bill, Please"), opposed legislation providing for reciprocity in trade relations with other countries.

It never ceases to amaze me that so-called free traders, who object vociferously when the United States takes action to protect its industry, always turn the other cheek when other nations do the same thing.

When push comes to shove in international trade, the United States is more sinned against than sinning — by a huge order of magnitude.

Reciprocity would signal to our trading partners that we will not accept a world half-free and half-protectorist.

Why would free-traders oppose it?  
HOWARD D. SAMUEL  
President  
Industrial Union Department  
A.F.L.-C.I.O.  
Washington, May 27, 1982

## Supercomputers Can't Add Quality to Life

To the Editor:

In the midst of my customary Tuesday night tub-bath, only reading the Sunday Times, I was taken with alarm and moved to spring from my tub to write you.

The perfectly lovely, full and highly informative Week in Review article by Andrew Pollack on "The Fantastic Stuff of New Computers" (May 30) suddenly, at its end, screeched to a halt and seemed on the whole absolutely preposterous. Why? It left out the one crucial fact to help put the coming supercomputer whiz-bang lightning-speed technology in perspective:

Why in the world would anyone really want a computer to be able to perform many "trillions of calculations" a second? For the weather? To get somewhere faster? Do more? Have more? Be more?

As a psychotherapist whose daily problems involve getting the average human being to slow down, to be less rather than more needy of precision, to relax and be a bloody mensch —

## A Nuclear Freeze Favors the Russians

To the Editor:

The Union Theological Seminary statement, "To End the Arms Race" (advertisement, Week in Review, May 30), sheds little light on the role of arms in the quest for peace and freedom.

It calls for a nuclear freeze, which would confer a significant, perhaps fateful, advantage upon the Soviet Union, the most powerful and expansionist tyranny the world has seen. The freeze would simultaneously weaken the capacity of the U.S. and its allies to defend themselves.

The statement also calls for the reduction of nuclear arms, an objective shared by President Reagan and virtually all Americans. The President has made honest proposals to reduce European theater and strategic arms on both sides under appropriate verification safeguards. Moscow scoffed at these proposals, but has agreed to start strategic arms talks on June 29.

Ever since the Soviet Union became a nuclear power, it has steadfastly refused on-site inspection of its missiles. This is the chief problem of any control agreement with Moscow. Verification is a substitute for trust.

The statement seems to assume that all expenditures for arms are wasted and all arms are evil. The fact is that arms are neutral. They can be used to impose tyranny, as in Eastern Europe today, or they can be used to roll back tyranny as the Allies did in liberating Europe from the Nazi yoke.

The responsible way to "end the arms race" is to pursue President Reagan's proposals. The United States needs a nuclear capability sufficient to deter a Soviet strike and strong enough to induce Moscow to negotiate reductions seriously. Under present circumstances and as a minimum, this means upgrading our deterrent in Europe and protecting our deterrent in the United States.

At this crucial point in history, when Soviet power has imposed its will on Eastern Europe, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Ethiopia and Cuba, and is attempting to do so in a dozen other countries, it is hardly the time for the leader of the free world to let down its guard in the name of ending the arms race.

The writers of the Union Theological Seminary statement will have to be more attentive to verifiable facts as well as the accepted canons of Christian ethics if they want their words to be taken seriously by any conscientious citizen or statesman.

ERNEST W. LEFEVER  
President  
Ethics and Public Policy Center  
Washington, June 1, 1982

## Lowering Bumper Standard Raises the Danger

To the Editor:

A May 15 news story reported that the Reagan Administration would lower the standards for car bumpers from 5 miles per hour to 2 1/2 miles per hour.

Most people are unaware that this implies not only harm to the consumer, but harm to the auto writer as well. If the average person understood the meaning of the change, he might well be (again) induced to buy foreign rather than American cars.

This bumper standard measures the amount of impact energy absorbed by the bumpers before damage to the car and its occupants. A drop from 5 to 2 1/2 is a drop to one-fourth the energy-absorbing capability (related to the square of the velocity); three-fourths of the energy in a minor parking lot "park it by ear" will now have to be absorbed by the car's main structure.

What is worse is that the 5 m.p.h. standard was an interim goal; Congressional hearings some years ago showed many safety experts in favor of a 10 m.p.h. standard. Thus a drop to 2 1/2 m.p.h. is a drop to one-sixteenth the original recommended standard.

The Reagan cost-benefit analysis claimed that a major benefit of dropping to a 2 1/2 m.p.h. standard would be lighter cars with better gas consumption. As the lower standard is unlikely to save more than 15 pounds per vehicle, the claimed \$93 gas savings is probably in error. After all, an adequate bumper system in the 5 m.p.h.

to 10 m.p.h. region weighs less than 25 pounds more than one with no energy absorption capability at all. (I am an M.I.T. engineer who has held both systems in his hands.)

The insurance industry claims it will have to raise rates by as much as 20 percent because of the lower standards. What is more, the consumer whose vehicle is hit at, say, 4 1/2 m.p.h. in a parking lot would have no damage under a 5 m.p.h. standard and about \$350 damage with a \$300 deductible under a 2 1/2 m.p.h. standard. Many motorists would find themselves absorbing such a hit-and-run minor incident themselves rather than risk their insurance claim records.

What is also ignored here is that at higher (major accident) speeds, the energy absorbing bumper of 5 m.p.h. provides valuable milliseconds for the seat-belt inertia reel to lock. Thus, a lower standard will lead to higher injuries for those of us who drive defensively and wear seat belts. I'll probably be forced to buy an armored import — maybe one of those thin-metal Japanese jobs.

R. L. ELMAN  
Smithtown, L.I., May 23, 1982

## Identify Teen Drinkers

To the Editor:

Regarding Governor Carey's signing of the bill to raise the legal drinking age to 19, it is hard for me to believe that the drunk-driving statistics will be seriously affected because of a one-year difference in the drinking age.

The problem lies not in the legal age at which people can drink, but with those who dispense the alcohol with little regard for the age of the customer.

I am a college student in the Boston area, and there I know I will be expected to produce two pieces of identification, with at least one of them containing a picture, if I go anywhere that liquor is served. The proprietors in Boston are strict about the "Two I.D." rule and there aren't many exceptions.

If those who sell and serve alcohol in New York State would only adhere to the strict "Two I.D." policy, the drunk-driving accident rate would decrease measurably; and not because the age has been raised, but because the law will actually be enforced.

AMY MATTISON  
Brooklyn, June 8, 1982

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# A Way To Halt the Arms Race

By Jerome B. Wiesner

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — There is an easily structured, effective way to stop the escalating arms race. President Reagan should declare an open-ended unilateral moratorium, always subject to reversal, on the production, testing and deployment of new nuclear weapons and delivery systems. He should invite the Russians to respond with a parallel declaration of purpose. If they did, it would result in a non-negotiated freeze. Only the President has the power and prestige to put this into effect; only he might have the courage to break such new ground and help reduce worldwide fear.

As one who has been involved in defense technology since World War II, who has always believed that minimum deterrence would prevent nuclear war, I am convinced that we need a fresh approach to tackling the problem. A moratorium is such an approach. We have three decades of failed negotiations behind us. Weapons agreements, with their inevitable protracted bargaining, take longer than mankind can afford. A unilateral moratorium gives Mr. Reagan and Leonid I. Brezhnev the ability to reverse the arms race without going through the long intermediate steps involving large teams of negotiators that arms-control talks require.

The challenge is to action, not negotiation. Once both countries have declared a moratorium, either can take the initiative to go further and further along the path.

A moratorium, to be acceptable, must be safe for everyone — for us, the Soviet Union, and for both sides' allies. Is a moratorium safe? I believe that it is. The argument, based on the concept of deterrence that has restrained the superpowers for three decades, is straightforward. Every large city of any country not only is the shelter for its people but is a nodal point for every network in the life-support systems of its area (communications, electric power, fuel supply, medicine, roads, trains, planes, food), as well as the nation or continent. It is easy to count these focal points in the United States and Soviet Union. An automobile road atlas shows that there are fewer than 200 in North America. And since there is no known defense against incoming ballistic missiles, 200 large nuclear bombs, even if they missed by a few miles, would destroy the recuperative power of either continent. The basic number to keep in mind, therefore, is not the tens of thousands of bombs in existence but the certain ability to deliver 200 on either side. With the numbers presently in existence, there is no way to prevent 200 bombs (and doubtless many more) from destroying the complete social fabric of both continents. The death count — a total made up of those killed by the initial attack plus the victims of the subhuman conditions that would follow — could be as much as 200 million.

Despite recognition by statesmen and scientists, from the very first nuclear explosion, that a force had been found that was too revolutionary to be considered in the framework of old ideas, the leaders of the superpowers (and increasing numbers of other nations) have not been deterred from allowing nuclear weapons to form the heart of their defense strategies.

Over the years, there have been private and public appeals for restraint, restriction, and abolition of nuclear weapons as the essential first move toward peace and survival. Until now, the race between peace-seekers and weapons experts has been unequal. Every new generation of weapons emerges faster than treaties to limit them, so that it has always been possible, as in the case of SALT II, to argue that the finished treaty did not take into account the latest weapons. At the same time, the awesome capabilities of the new weapons have added to the terror and also to the difficulty of restricting the arms race. It is surely for this reason that we are experiencing the public drive to halt that race. This is undoubtedly why the proposed freeze has struck so resonant a chord. But a freeze — a negotiated, balanced, verifiable freeze — may, like all previous treaty attempts, take an unacceptably long time to negotiate. SALT I took three years, SALT II took seven, only to be rejected by a new Administration. How long would it take to negotiate a "balanced" freeze?

A unilateral moratorium is a safe way out of this dilemma. Ending the arms race with a moratorium means giving up attempts to match weapons for weapons and to achieve numerical balances among them, and depends instead entirely upon a secure deterrent. A moratorium does not have to mean "stop everything." For example, if President Reagan were to declare a moratorium, he might still choose to build up our conventional forces and even replace some nuclear weapons that are aging and troublesome to maintain. But it should halt the testing, production and deployment of new nuclear weapon systems. It needn't halt all research and development.

It is important to understand what a moratorium is and, especially, what it is not. It is not nuclear disarmament. It is a way of arresting the arms race. It is a unilateral path to a freeze. It can be ended at any time by a unilateral decision.

What we ultimately do and how far we finally go beyond this easy initial stage depends upon how each side responds. The unilateral moratorium should be just a first step in global psychotherapy.

Jerome B. Wiesner, president emeritus and Institute Professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was science adviser to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.



Ralph Steadman

## Avoiding the Big Bang

By Kurt Vonnegut

Thanks to modern communications, the poor, unlucky young people from the Soviet Union, now killing and dying in Afghanistan, were dead sick of war before they ever got there.

Thanks to modern communications, the same must be true of the poor, unlucky young people from Argentina and Britain now killing and dying in the Falkland Islands.

When I was a boy, it was unusual for an American, or a person of any nationality, to know much about foreigners. Those who did were specialists — diplomats, explorers, journalists, anthropologists. And they usually knew a lot about just a few groups of foreigners — Eskimos, maybe, or Arabs, or what have you. To them, as to the schoolchildren of Indianapolis, large areas of the globe were terra incognita.

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## The New Pitch

By Flora Lewis

WEST BERLIN — The series of speeches President Reagan made during his European trip and the documents he endorsed at two summits have given a new pitch to American foreign policy.

The words are familiar — peace with freedom, negotiations with the Soviets, democracy for all, American guarantees and troops in Europe, human rights. Even détente is back in the vocabulary though it has become a double word, "genuine détente," test it be confused with old-fashioned détente.

That is, the words are familiar if you go back a few years, before the 1980 campaign.

On several occasions, President Reagan made his usual point that the West must be strong and vigilant to deal with Moscow, and he spoke of the fundamental differences between East and West.

At the Berlin Wall, Mr. Reagan said he felt like tossing over a bottle with a message asking, "Why are you afraid of freedom?" Addressing American troops, he compared a World War II hero's citation with a medal he said the Russians gave for murder, to Jacques Mornard, Stalin's agent who assassinated Trotsky.

Still, the challenges the President issued to the Soviet Union were to reduce arms, guard against accidental nuclear war and bolster the hope of peace. All the emphasis was on the good things, the helpful things that America can offer.

Gone was the castigation of the Russians for "lying and cheating," the suggestion of limited nuclear war and the flip tone of last year's joke about forestalling accidental war by putting "a smoke alarm in the White House."

It was as though Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger had never opened his mouth. The promise to defend Europe was unconditional, resonant with loyalty to the alliance. The warning that America would consider "going it alone" if the Europeans don't stiffen up was mutedly buried.

Clearly, President Reagan has listened to all the arguments of advisers who know Europe and give NATO first priority in foreign policy. Mr. Reagan's speeches were sprinkled with literary and historical references, custom-crafted for each audience the way campaign staffers insert lines at each stop to please the locals whose concerns they've mapped with care.

If the collection of papers generated by the White House for the trip

is now the base of American foreign policy, the "unilateralists," who argued that allies must be disciplined, have been thoroughly routed by the "multilateralists," who urge accommodation. Secretary of State Alexander Haig, flushed with confidence, was much in evidence and riding high.

The Europeans were glad to hear the soothing melodies in place of rousing marches, but they wondered about the transformation that one trans-Atlantic flight could achieve. Would jet-lag flatten the violins and bring out the booming horns when President Reagan settles down at home again?

In any case, Mr. Reagan said a lot of things about American policy in ways he hadn't said before. That's bound to create expectations. It must baffle Moscow, although the old cynics in the Kremlin know all about the tricks of mouthing sugar and making a fist. They are surely looking for the catch.

In Western societies, however, both in Europe and the United States, people expect the leaders they choose to explain their reasoning and to act on their conclusions. There was nothing to show the evolution in President Reagan's thought and how he moved from yesterday's cold warrior to today's eager searcher for dialogue.

Is this the new Ronald Reagan? Or was he a lamb in wolf's clothing all along? Or, is this another Teleprompter program, delivered perfectly to create an image but hiding the message in the little qualifying words between the noble lines?

On the face of it, there does at last appear to be a Reagan foreign policy, for Europe at least, if not yet clearly for the Middle East, Latin America, Africa and Asia. Perhaps the President should plan a lot more trips. They seem to focus minds at the White House.

But there remain all those contradictions, not the least of which is the recent speech by national security adviser William Clark, which put the emphasis on squeezing the Soviet Union economically.

The trip is over. The speeches are on the record. The initial proposals to stop the arms race have been announced. Now comes the time for specifics, for decisions that advance in the new direction.

If they don't come, the disappointment will leave the world even more frightened and resentful than before.

Now look what has happened. Thanks to modern communications, we have seen sights and heard sounds from virtually every square mile of the land mass on this planet. Millions of us have actually visited more exotic places than had many explorers during my childhood.

So we now know for certain that there are no potential human enemies anywhere who are anything but human beings almost exactly like ourselves. They need food. How amazing. They love their children. How amazing. They obey their leaders. How amazing. They think like their neighbors. How amazing.

Thanks to modern communications, we now have something we never had before: reason to mourn deeply the death or wounding of any human being on any side in any war.

It was because of rotten communications, of malicious, racist ignorance that we were able to celebrate the killing of almost all the inhabitants in Hiroshima 37 years ago. We thought they were vermin. They thought we were vermin. They would have clapped their little yellow hands with glee, and grinned with their crooked buck teeth, if they could have incinerated everybody in Kansas City, say.

Thanks to how much the people of the world now know about all the other people of the world, the fun of killing enemies has lost its zing. It has so lost its zing that no sane citizen of the Soviet Union would feel anything but horror if his country were to kill practically everybody in New York and Chicago and San Francisco. Killing enemies has so lost its zing that no sane citizen of the United States would feel anything but horror if our country were to kill practically everybody in Moscow and Leningrad and Kiev.

Or in Nagasaki, for that matter.

We have often heard it said that people would have to change, or we would go on having world wars. I bring you good news: People have changed. We aren't so ignorant and bloodthirsty anymore.

I dreamed last night of our descendants a thousand years from now. If there are still human beings on Earth, every one of those human beings will be descended from us — and from everyone who has chosen to reproduce.

In my dream, our descendants are numerous. Some of them are rich, some poor, some likeable, some insufferable. I ask them how humanity, against all odds, managed to keep going for another millennium. They tell me that they and their ancestors did it by preferring life over death for themselves and others at every opportunity, even at the expense of being dishonored. They endure all sorts of insults and humiliations and disappointments without committing suicide or murder. They are also the people who do the insulting and humiliating and disappointing.

I endorse myself to them by suggesting a motto they might like to put on their belt buckles or tee shirts. I give them a quotation from that great 19th century moralist and robber baron Jim Fisk.

Jim Fisk uttered his famous words after a particularly disgraceful episode having to do with the Erie Railroad. Fisk had no choice but to find himself contemptible. He thought this over, and then he shrugged and said what we all must learn to say, if we want to go on living much longer: "Nothing is lost save honor."

Kurt Vonnegut, the novelist, delivered these remarks, excerpted here, recently in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine.

### WASHINGTON

## The Week That Was

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, June 12 — This was supposed to be the week when the leaders of the industrial world would meet in the palaces and castles of Europe to proclaim the virtues of reconciliation and peace, but we couldn't hear them because of the bombs.

Israel had another military triumph, but didn't know what to do with the rubble. Iraq, recently dreaming of the conquest of Teheran and Iran, was calling for a cease-fire to save Baghdad.

Meanwhile, Argentina's military garrison was trapped on the Falklands, relying on the prayers of the Pope. And even the British, counting their dead and receiving their wounded on the Queen Elizabeth 2, were wondering whether in the end their gallant soldiers would be left, like The Charge of the Light Brigade, with nothing more than a heroic poem.

President Reagan was back at Camp David, insisting that his mission to Europe had been a "great success."

He had tried to stop the Argentine invasion of the Falklands and had been ignored. Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel didn't even give Mr. Reagan a chance to stop the invasion of Lebanon, but will be coming here later this month to ask the United States to help him deal with the consequences.

Paradoxically, the situation is now so sad that Mr. Reagan may have a chance — to use his favorite phrase — for "a new beginning." The efforts to avoid war from the top of the big governments have been such a failure that the people who have to fight them have taken to the streets demanding "a new beginning" from the bottom.

Almost four hundred thousand of them were in New York City yesterday crying for an end to war and the nuclear arms race. Three hundred thousand rallied to the Pope's appeals for peace in Argentina. It's almost enough to make Mr. Reagan wonder at Camp David whether there wasn't something to Jimmy Carter's Camp David "peace process" and his strategic arms control treaty, after all.

The situation is not hopeless. Washington understands that Israel could not tolerate indefinitely the use of southern Lebanon as a launching pad for rockets and terrorists against its people. President Reagan is not opposed to Prime Minister Begin's use of force in self-defense, but thinks the force used was excessive, and odd, Mr. Reagan seems even more resentful of Mr. Begin's bad timing and bad manners, which rather spoiled what the President hoped would be his triumphant tour of Europe.

Nevertheless, the Israelis, with their usual military skill but at tremendous cost of human life, have swept the battlefield clean. They avoided a major ground war with Syria and opened up the possibility of negotiations for the restoration of an independent Lebanon free of all foreign troops and reconsideration of the Palestinian problem.

Officials here recognize this will be a difficult and daunting process, but they also believe there may still be a chance. Even the Arab leaders see no future in going back to the status quo, with an amputated and paralyzed Lebanon, dominated by P.L.O. terrorists and foreign armies, supplied by the Syrian side by Moscow, and on the Israeli side by Washington.

Israel does not want to occupy southern Lebanon. Its military and its economy are already stretched beyond the reasonable endurance of its people. What it does want is not another useless United Nations "presence" in southern Lebanon, but a powerful international military force, including troops from the United States.

It will not be easy, however, for Prime Minister Begin to negotiate such an arrangement when he comes here later this month, not unless he is prepared to deal more generously with the promise of self-determination for the Palestinians, which is the heart of the problem.

For the Government of the United States is simply not willing to put its troops into southern Lebanon to support what it regards as Israel's vengeful policies toward the Palestinians on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Washington might consider joining an international military force to protect Israel's borders, but not Israel's policies on the West Bank and Gaza. Or Israel's habit of ignoring U.S. interests on its military takeoffs — and then later asking for Washington's help on the crash-landings.

This latest crisis, therefore, has produced both new dangers and new opportunities. Washington has been loud in its condemnation of Argentina for using force to settle territorial disputes, but has been restrained in its reaction to Israel's even more violent military "diplomacy."

Israel is asking the United States to help finance and provide arms for policies the United States opposes, and uses those arms without even providing the courtesy of advance notice to the Government in Washington.

But Washington is being cautious. Observing the public cries for peace in the streets, the Reagan Administration is beginning to wake up and think about using this crisis to try once more for a general settlement of the Palestinian problem in the Middle East.



## To the Dickens And Other Authors By Way of Cassette

By PAUL KRESH

In Evelyn Waugh's "A Handful of Dust" a young Englishman named Tony Last, wandering ill with fever in some South American jungle, is saved by an illiterate old man who nurses him back to health — and then forces him, day after day, to read aloud to him the complete works of Charles Dickens. He keeps promising to let the poor chap go but he will have his Dickens. Even when a rescue party reaches the scene, old Mr. Todd goes so far as to drug his prisoner and hide him away so that young Last can go on reading Dickens to him for the rest of his life.

A ghastly fate — and one that Tony could well have avoided had he only waited to get himself lost in that jungle until after the invention of the handy little audio cassette. The Mr. Todds of today can get their Dickens

Box 7900, Newport Beach, Calif. 92660 — or arrange to have a confederate inside the United States call them up, toll free, at 800-854-6758. Moreover, by ordering at least three Dickens books at the same time he could receive a 10 percent discount on the rental price (\$21 for "David Copperfield," \$10.50 for "Oliver Twist" or "Great Expectations," \$9.50 for "A Tale of Two Cities"). I don't know quite what old Todd would do after that (unless he expanded his literary horizons and ordered 10 or more selections, including some by other authors, in which case he could get an 11th bonus book absolutely free) since there aren't any more Dickens books for rent in the Books on Tape catalogue, but give them time! Meanwhile, he could get a fine recording of passages from "Nicholas Nickleby," read by Roger Rees, who recently won a Tony Award as best actor in a play for his performance in the Broadway version of that novel, on Caedmon (TC1702, cassette CP1702). He could also hear Mr. Rees reading from "David Copperfield" (TC1706, cassette CD151706).

Duvall Hecht, who lives in Orange County, Calif., and started Books on Tape because he just got fed up with what came over the radio while he was driving his car, opened for business in 1975 with an actor named Jack Gardner reading George Plimpton's "Paper Lions" complete on 10 one-hour cassettes. Mr. Hecht soon found out that there were plenty of people out there who, like old Todd, enjoyed being read to aloud even though they were neither blind nor partially sighted nor illiterate — and could read books for themselves if they so chose. Today, he says, he is making about a million and a half dollars a year out of the enterprise and claims to have captured more than 30,000 subscribers. It didn't take him long to compile a list of 500 titles to which 100 more are added every year.

The cassettes arrive in a plain gray paper carton which is simple to return after you've played the contents. The Books on Tape catalogue covers not only novels by Dickens and a generous selection of other literary classics, but popular fiction, history, travel and adventure at prices ranging from \$6.50 (George Orwell's "Animal Farm" on three one-hour cassettes read by Rich-



Charles Dickens—now available on tape by mail

ard Green) to \$24.50 (Colleen McCullough's "The Thorn Birds" on 15 hour-and-a-half cassettes read by the same Angela Cheyne) to \$116.50 (Winston Churchill's "The Second World War" on 98 cassettes which play for 148.5 hours — the indefatigable Mr. Green again). You can also get Anais Nin's "Delta of Venus" (rated XX in the catalogue), Diana Trilling's "Mrs. Harris: The Death of the Scarsdale Diet" and John Updike's "Rabbit Is Rich," all boxed complete and ready for rental.

The recordings rented out by Books on Tape and similar outfits differ from the kind of albums produced by companies on the order of Caedmon, Spoken Arts, Folkways and CMS, which cater primarily to the educational market, lean toward selections and abridgements rather than total texts, and put far more emphasis on distinguished authors reading their own works (especially if they fit in with school curricula), big-name performers and production values. But Books on Tape also sells outright some of the Caedmon Soundbooks,

featuring such authors as Dylan Thomas, James Joyce, J.R.R. Tolkien and Kurt Vonnegut Jr. reading their own prose, on four cassettes each, packaged in book-like containers that come with leaflets of program notes. Books on Tape also sells language courses, best sellers on "success motivation" (Michael Korda's "Power! How to Get It, How to Use It," among others) and classical music on cassettes in Vox boxes. And poems by Pope John Paul II. And a "talking magazine" called "Newstrack" featuring articles from U.S. News and World Report, Time, The New Republic and other periodicals, delivered to your door twice a month on a 90-minute tape. If you happen to be ordering from a South American jungle where it's inconvenient to hack your way to the nearest discount store to purchase a cassette player, the company can take care of that, too, sending you one C.O.D. along with an adapter for the player for use on house current, if you have any, as well as a "head maintenance kit" and a handy demagnetizer. Mr. Hecht also keeps

in stock an assortment — for sale only, no rentals — of video cassettes featuring movies such as "All the President's Men," "Superman," "10," "The Wizard of Oz" and selected short subjects (a 58-minute series, for instance, of Tom and Jerry cartoons). Oh yes, they're also on Visa and MasterCard.

The ideal way of listening to a rented book on tape is probably to find something else to do at the same time, like macramé, cooking, jogging, or sipping lemonade while lying in a hammock in the shade of an elm on a summer afternoon. I sampled several books over a Sony Walkman while lying in bed propped up against several pillows with a pair of orange earphones over my ears, staying with it for a week or so, alternately twiddling my thumbs and sleepily jotting down notes I am still trying to decipher. I heard Richard Green reading Ken Follett's "Triple" — all about a mysterious hijacking of uranium that somehow alters the balance of power between the Israelis and their Arab neighbors (eight hour-and-a-half cassettes) and found it wonderfully soothing, so much so that I was practically asleep by the middle of cassette number eight and have only the haziest idea of how the story ended. I also caught Mr. Green in C.S. Forester's "Long Before Forty" (a mere six hour-and-a-half cassettes) in which the author of "Captain Horatio Hornblower" explains how he writes adventure stories. Later I went on to Irwin Shaw's "Nightwork," a tense tale involving two con men and a vanishing bankroll (nine hour-and-a-half cassettes) read in level tones by Wolfram Kandinsky. In fact, most Books on Tape readers, I discovered, cultivate a kind of neutral, nonemotional manner which, I gather, is intended to encourage you to concentrate on the prose rather than on the theatricality of a bravura professional performance which could prove rather wearing over so many hours; the effect is certainly hypnotic, though sometimes numbing.

A rival enterprise to Books on Tape is Recorded Books (6306 Aaron Lane, Clinton, Md. 20735). They base their prices on a rental fee per individual cassette of \$4.50. At their studios outside Washington, D.C., they tend to favor somewhat more expressive treatments of the books they record,

which currently include some 50 titles, among them "Anne Frank: The Diary of a Young Girl," "Fahrenheit 451," "The Art of Japanese Management" and Alexander Solzhenitsyn's "The Mortal Danger." On request they sent along a sampler offering selections from various short stories, Stephen Crane's "The Red Badge of Courage," Eugen Herrigel's "Zen in the Art of Archery," David Howarth's "Trafalgar: The Nelson Touch" and Rumer Godden's "Kingfishers Catch Fire." I was particularly taken with Flo Gibson, one of their regulars, in a tender, gently inflected reading of the Rumer Godden novel, one of those charming stories of hers set in India, this time about the widow of a British administrator who goes off to Kashmir to start life over with her two children.

According to Sandy Spencer, general manager of Recorded Books, what makes their product special is that their readings are recorded on "better cassettes" (TDK C-90's) than those used by the competition and that their rental and sales prices are calculated by running time rather than the number of tapes. Mr. Spencer informed me that the company is recovering nicely from the experience of getting back a rented album of "The Greatest Thing Since Sliced Bread" with teeth marks all over it (a customer's dog, it seems, had tried to eat it). They, too, have a toll-free number — it's 800-638-1304, and will be glad to sell you any item on their list as an alternative to rental, but apparently don't take credit cards.

Then there's a Canadian outfit called "Listen for Pleasure" (111 Martin Ross Avenue, Downsview, Ont. M3J 2M1). Their cassettes, too, contain readings by polished performers, the results boxed in neat little packages that fit snugly on a bookshelf (sales only, no rentals). Michael Jayston, for instance, who played Peter Guillam in the BBC TV serial "Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy" gives a compelling account of the John Le Carré thriller about espionage and counterespionage in a brisk treatment of the entire text (Listen for Pleasure 7062). Other titles include David Niven's "The Moon's a Balloon," Alastair Cooke's "Letters from America," Jack Higgins' "The Eagle Has Landed" and — just in case there are any more Mr. Todds lurking in the bushes — their own audio "Oliver Twist."

### FILM VIEW

VINCENT CANBY

## Exploring Inner and Outer Space With Steven Spielberg

Children's literature in America," says "The Oxford Companion to American Literature," "first consisted of aids to piety, seemingly addressed to miniature adults." Among the earliest such works, the companion cites John Cotton's "Milk for Babies, Drawn out of the Breasts of Both Testaments," published in 1633.

American babies have come a long way since. Our children's literature now embraces everything from the Uncle Remus stories to Mark Twain, Louisa May Alcott, E.B. White, Nancy Drew, same sex manuals, comic books and, this century's crowning contribution, motion pictures, especially the work of Walt Disney. Now add the work of Steven Spielberg, currently represented by two new films, each of which is an extension of a popular children's form, though neither is an aid to piety or seeks an audience of miniature adults.

The films are "Poltergeist," which was produced by Mr. Spielberg, directed by Tobe Hooper and is one of the few really satisfactory haunted-house movies I've ever seen, and "E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial," directed by Mr. Spielberg, a sweet-natured fantasy with all sorts of connections to earlier children's literature including "Peter Pan," "The Wizard of Oz," "Lassie," "Flubber," Mr. Spielberg's own "Close Encounters of the Third Kind," "Star Wars" and "The Empire Strikes Back."

As good as both films are, their simultaneous release may not be a wise decision, even if, as now seems possible, they succeed in cornering a large portion of this summer's movie business between them. "Poltergeist" and "E.T." are enough alike to invite comparisons but just different enough that anyone who is charmed by one will probably be disappointed by the other.

What they do give us, however, is the opportunity to consider the concerns and methods of a very particular talent as demonstrated in two separate films seen side by side. In this day and age, when most filmmakers take three or four years on each project, this kind of opportunity doesn't come along very often. Since 1977, when "Close Encounters" was released, Mr. Spielberg has made four films, "1941," "Raiders of the Lost Ark," "Poltergeist" and "E.T."

The most immediate conclusion: Steven Spielberg has become his own filmmaker, even when working through an associate, as he did with Mr. Hooper on "Poltergeist." If he were a playwright or a novelist, one would say that he had found his own voice, but because a filmmaker deals in images and sounds as well as words, I'm not sure what the movie equivalent would be.

It was apparent in "The Sugarland Express" and "Jaws" that Mr. Spielberg is an unusually facile director and a first-rate technician, but not until "Close Encounters" was it apparent that there is also a true sensibility guiding those techniques. He is an American director who brings to the hard-boiled, hustling world of Hollywood a delicacy of vision more often associated with small, low-budget movies than with studio productions that have Fort Knox-sized budgets.

This is not to say that his films look small. Far from it. They are behemoths by almost any standards. They are constructions only slightly less complicated than the building of the Brooklyn Bridge. Yet the mind behind them remains unblinded by the heavy logistics of the Hollywood creative process.

Of the two new films, "E.T." is the more conventional. At heart it is an updated version of that old Hollywood standby, the boy-and-his-dog picture, but with a small,

frightened creature from outer space instead of a dog. This fellow, E.T., a piece of walking-talking sculpture created by Carlo Rambaldi, looks like a chubby, distant cousin of the creatures in "Close Encounters." He's about three-feet tall with bulgy forehead and eyes, spindly arms, dachshund legs — just two, duck feet, a stratospheric intelligence and, when walking, the wobbliness of a wind-up toy manufactured in Taiwan.

When his space ship, which is on a specimen-gathering mission, is forced to make a fast getaway, E.T. finds himself marooned in Southern California, in some woods adjacent to a middle-class housing development. It's there that he's found and befriended by a 10-year-old boy named Elliott (Henry Thomas).

Elliott takes the creature home, where, with the enthusiastic cooperation of his older brother, Michael (Robert MacNaughton), and bossy little sister, Gertie (Drew Barrymore), he hides the lost traveler. The kids console him, pet him, feed him, dress him up like a doll and, generally, treat him as if he were an especially exotic plaything. Only after E.T. causes tennis balls to dance in the air does it dawn on the children that their companion would find even Einstein's company a drag.

Will E.T. be discovered by the United States Government's security forces that are scouring the neighborhood? Can E.T. long survive in the earth's atmosphere? What are the lessons he has to teach Elliott, who comes to identify with E.T. so closely that when E.T. left alone in the house, goes on a beer binge, it's Elliott, several miles away in school, who burps and becomes serenely smashed?

The answers to these and a lot of other questions are exactly the sort that everyone in the audience wants to hear.

"E.T." is one of the shrewdest non-Disney, Disney-type pictures ever made. It's a funny, clever variation on a Hollywood formula film, made by adults working to come up with an adventure that will satisfy the yearnings of children, at least as those yearnings are perceived by adults. The perceptions are not far off the mark.

"E.T." seems to have been photographed mostly at the eye-level of the children — though this may only be an impression — so that it implicates the audience in everything the children and E.T. do. However, because there are no real villains in the piece, the result is not a "them" (adults) against "us" (children) situation. It's a simple reflection of a world in which children can be in control.

Quite different, and possibly more risky, is "Poltergeist," which is a child's nightmare cast in the form of a movie. It's a tale of ghosts and goblins and creepy, slimy, unspeakable things, the sort of narrative one child might make up for the heart-pounding delectation of his friends.

The placid home life of the Freeling family is wrecked with the — initially — unexplained appearance of some ghosts who seem to have come forth from the color television set in the living room. The spirits are at first playful, doing tricks with chairs and sirlin steaks to amuse the family. They then become cranky and pushy and, finally, ferociously angry.

"Poltergeist," rated PG, is not a film to be seen by very small children with sleeping problems. Slightly older kids will probably find it less shocking than their parents do. "Poltergeist" is more deliciously spooky than seriously frightening because Mr. Spielberg is so obviously in touch with the child's imagination. This is the haunted house film that he — and we — always wanted to see as kids but never did.



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# HONEYMOON UNDER FIRE

The Post's YA'ACOV FRIEDLER talks to UNIFIL spokesman TIMOR GOKSEL, who was in Nakoura when the hostilities started.

THE WEDDING reception had been planned at the UNIFIL Fijian battalion, but Timor Goksel and his bride were pinned down elsewhere by the IDF sweep into Lebanon. The career UN information officer and his Iranian wife, an Associated Press correspondent working out of Beirut, had met in Nakura, and there they spent their honeymoon, sleeping on the floor.

Goksel, a 39-year-old Turkish university graduate in finance and international relations joined UNIFIL in February of 1979 and is its most veteran official.

A few white hairs showed in the beard he had grown by the time he had made it back to Nahariya last Thursday. The water supply has broken down in Nakura, he said to explain his hirsute appearance, which made him look not unlike Yasser Arafat, though his wife prefers to see a resemblance to Jack Nicholson.

Goksel is fascinated by his job with UNIFIL. At his Nahariya flat, he cautioned against assuming that UNIFIL, whose mandate expires on June 19, is on its way out. "If you believe that Operation Peace for Galilee will bring about pacification or reconciliation in Lebanon, you are mistaken. You need an outside middle-man." The Security Council hastily created the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon on March 19, 1978, before the last shots of Operation Litani had been fired. Nobody is going to ask its 7,000 men from 11 countries, from France to Fiji, whether they would be happy to leave the region, but in Israel there have been demands for a more effective international force.

Goksel says not to count the force out prematurely, and he "still thinks that a UN force is your best option, because I am aware of the realities of Lebanon."

He discounts the "multi-national force" to replace UNIFIL, both because it may prove difficult to put together and because of the problem of having its authority recognized by the innumerable factions, all armed, that control pieces of Lebanon, which has "no real government" to rule it.

Goksel has learned during his long stay that Lebanon "is not a normal country." In its still feudal society, loyalties often stretch no farther than the village, or even only the extended family. "They themselves don't look at Lebanon as a country," he said. "The citizens want services from the government but not to pay taxes."

GOKSEL is convinced that UNIFIL has a great advantage over any other conceivable international force in that its UN flag and its white-painted vehicles are at least familiar to the Lebanese and recognized as an authority.

Furthermore, its troops come from countries that have no direct interest of their own in South Lebanon. While it is not armed to be a fighting force, "we have the moral strength of representing the 150 members of the UN of which Israel is one of the early members," he noted. "This gives us some pressure."



An off-duty UNIFIL officer watches Israeli military vehicles roll past a checkpoint in Southern Lebanon soon after the start of the operation.

GOKSEL feels UNIFIL "did very well" in carrying out the civic part of its mandate, noting it has brought about the return of 1,200 soldiers of the Lebanese Army to the area it controls; has been instrumental in getting an administration started; and "the economic life in our area recovered beautifully." Last but not least, "no private taxes are being extorted by armed factions in our area," unlike the situation in the rest of the Lebanon where "private" taxation — "protection" payments in effect — are the only taxes that are being collected, at the point of a gun.

UNIFIL's mandate basically was to "assist the government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area" and "use its best efforts to prevent the recurrence of fighting and ensure that the area of its operation is not utilized for hostile activities." Since 1978, its mandate has been extended regularly every six months — for an "interim" force, it has had quite a long run.

Goksel believes that UNIFIL has done "quite a creditable job" with its peace-keeping duties, too. While Israelis obviously were concerned with the few PLO men who got through UNIFIL lines into this country, the force had intercepted a very large number of them, disarming them and turning them back.

"We have no police powers; when we stop somebody, what else can we do?" asks Goksel.

As for the PLO shelling of Israeli settlements, "it would be very difficult to say that they fired from inside our area."

In Beirut, UNIFIL is criticized by the PLO, but Goksel notes that during the four years of its existence, there had been only two cases of Israeli forces entering the force's area, and all the firing has been over the heads of its men.

Of the 7,000 men in the force, Goksel notes, 1,000 are logistics personnel at Nakura, with half of the rest, some 3,000 men being "combat soldiers." It would be grotesque to expect these men to keep the peace between two heavily armed camps, intent on fighting each other, or to have stopped the IDF from crossing UNIFIL lines last Sunday.

Yet this has been done by UNEF in the Sinai and by the 1,200-men UNDOF in the Golan. The 400 "fighting men" in UNDOF have kept two of the world's better-armed armies apart.

"We can keep the peace if both sides want it kept. UNDOF in the Golan (as the former UNEF in Sinai) is there by the written agreement of the responsible governments of Syria and Israel, whereas UNIFIL is in the unprecedented position of trying to keep the peace in an occupied area," Goksel said.

"In Lebanon, who's responsible?" he asked. We are told to keep the peace in an area with no single authority. Besides Major

Haddad, there are 12 Palestinian factions in Southern Lebanon and about 20 Lebanese factions, all armed, and Israel is not a party to the UNIFIL agreement.

"Our mandate is not to fight but to fill a vacuum, and we do so from several hundred positions manned by four to 10 men each and constant patrols." UNIFIL has paid a price for its peace-keeping, 38 men killed in action; another 38 who died in accidents; and 110 men wounded in clashes.

It was not their task "to fight and get killed," without achieving a thing. By arriving under the familiar UN flag, "we can often sort out problems. We can for instance go to the PLO, though we're not always happy to do so, and tell them 'you're a responsible organization, so let's solve this problem,' which often works."

"I know we are not always looked on favourably in Israel, but you're a member nation, and we can always go to your representative in New York," he added that when UNIFIL had to deal with the PLO, it was always most effective when Fatah was involved, because "they have an organized hierarchy, and we can go all the way to the top if necessary and get rulings enforced."

LAST SUNDAY was not an illustrious day for UNIFIL. The Israeli sweep into Lebanon had not come as a surprise, Goksel said.

"We are very well informed in south Lebanon, not officially, but because we live here."

If a single Israeli jeep crosses the border, UNIFIL knows it, he said. Goksel had a feeling before the IDF moved in that something was about to happen, and his suspicions were confirmed the night before the operation when he spotted an army truck at a traffic light in Nahariya loaded with generators. "If you take generators, that means you intend to stay."

At 11.05 on Sunday morning, the first Israeli tank had arrived at the check-post of the Dutch battalion. The Dutch soldiers who pointed their rifles at the tanks saw this was useless and lowered them again. The tank crashed a barrier and pulverized the concrete UNIFIL road blocks with its cannon.

At that point, the UNIFIL men began writing down the registration number of every tank and vehicle that passed and taking photographs for souvenirs.

The tanks moved fast, reaching the outskirts of Tyre in two and a half hours, Goksel said. "At Tyre, we have 20 men. As the tanks arrived at our barracks, the PLO started shooting RPG rockets at them. Most of them missed and hit our barracks, and we were scared that they might hit a large quantity of ammunition, including anti-tank rockets, that had arrived there for

our French battalion. The barracks were damaged and five Lebanese soldiers who were with us were lightly hurt, but fortunately the ammunition didn't blow up."

THE UNIFIL men felt "humiliated" by the IDF's ignoring them and sweeping past, while they, professional soldiers, could only lower their rifles and watch. On the other hand, they were impressed by the IDF columns. "I come from a poor country and had never seen such a highly mechanized and well-equipped army before," said Goksel, and added that the performance of IAF pilots was especially impressive.

At Tyre, UNIFIL's Swedish medical corps was "very upset" when the IDF informed them they were not needed, that the IDF would deal with all the injured themselves.

Goksel was personally sad about the destruction at Tyre. In late 1980, he had obtained an agreement from Major Haddad and the IDF not to shell Tyre again, and he made it his "personal responsibility" to get assurances from the local notables and various factions to silence their guns. The agreement, though quite unofficial was kept.

"I was able to get a kindergarten started and have life return to normal. Even during the July 1981 attrition, not a single shot was fired from or at Tyre."

A few days before Operation

Peace in Galilee he had even been able to get the residents at Tyre to stop carrying hand guns or rifles, making it the only place in Lebanon where citizens went unarmed, and Goksel was fondly given the title "mukhtar."

He leaves no doubt that he hopes to keep his job and that the force will survive. Since he has been working for the UN since 1968, he is assured of another information position should this one become a victim of the war. His reports — "factual and no colour" — go to headquarters in Jerusalem and Beirut and to New York, and while he "doesn't do any propaganda" for UNIFIL, he is available round the clock to newsmen on a "you call me, I won't call you" basis.

He has a flat in Nahariya, where many UNIFIL officers make their home, and he maintains another in Beirut. Goksel said he is well-informed on the intricate maze of "perhaps 50 or 60" different armed militias. All have political agendas, but most of them appear to be based on purely commercial considerations, providing "protection" and being involved in other racketeering.

The Lebanese, he said, are the most heavily armed population in the world. "In order to extract all the weapons, you'd have to dig very deep and under every stone." UNIFIL has sometimes arrived at the scene of what seemed to be an ideological fight, punctuated by sub-machinegun fire, only to find it was "just a family feud." The gun has become a way of life, and perhaps the only universally recognized authority in the country.

AS THE 7,000 men in UNIFIL are replaced every six months, more than 45,000 men have served, a chance for Israel "to make many friends or many enemies." Goksel is not sure what the balance has been, but says many of the men resented Israel and felt humiliated by what to them was "insulting" behaviour.

Their cars had on occasion been daubed "PLO"; UNIFIL officers, professional army men, could not get used to the informal first-name relations between Israeli soldiers and officers and had been insulted by having their bags searched by "other ranks." Also upsetting were "false reports, whether or not intentional" about UNIFIL in *The Jerusalem Post*. One source of irritation was a report that UNIFIL intended to replace a battalion because they were uneducated, "which was pure invention. The men involved were deeply humiliated by the report," Goksel noted, also mentioning how a toxic detergent poisoning of some of the troops became a "nerve gas" incident.

At their check posts, UNIFIL men are often insulted and even spat at when impounding guns. They undergo treble searches when crossing into Israel, by the IDF and customs at Rosh Hanikra, and then at a police post a few kilometres down the road.

When Goksel complained to a sympathetic Israeli liaison officer and they had gone down to check, the men at the post said openly that they searched only "Ummiks and Arabs."

## Erasing the trauma of '73

By MARK SEGAL/Post Political Correspondent



Above: Menachem Begin (left), Yitzhak Berman. Below: Zevulun Hammer (left), Mordechai Zipori.



PRIME MINISTER Menachem Begin has expressed the hope that Operation Peace for Galilee would erase forever the trauma of the Yom Kippur War from the memory of the Jewish People. According to a senior cabinet source, the prime minister also told the cabinet towards the end of last week that the thrust into Lebanon might also bring about a change in the attitude of the nations of the world towards the Jewish state.

From discussions with high-ranking sources this week, it also emerges that the cabinet did not fully discuss Israel's war aims at the June 5 Saturday night session which decided to move into Lebanon. Only Deputy Premier Simha Ehrlich and Energy Minister Yitzhak Berman abstained in the vote, explaining that they could hardly support an operation with such far-reaching implications when neither Begin nor Defence Minister Ariel Sharon had outlined its objectives.

And, it has been learned, it was only on Wednesday — fully 72 hours after the Israel Defence Forces entered Lebanon — that the entire cabinet asserted "proper control" over the eventual direction of the military moves.

One minister told *The Post* that "Arik's veracity threshold has never been high, at the best of times. And we suddenly realized that he was trying to maneuver us along his own preconceived path while keeping the real truth from us."

According to one source, Berman and Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori, a former deputy defence minister, began insisting on a discussion of war goals at a cabinet session on Tuesday. But the real turn came on Wednesday, when Education Minister Zevulun Hammer joined the ministerial dissent.

At that session, Berman triggered a light moment — in which Begin himself joined — when he asked ironically if "the defence minister could explain which points the IDF would have to take on the other side of the Beirut-Damascus highway in order to protect the area already under IDF control?" Sharon is said to have been irate as he replied:

"You are peering over my shoulder with a ruler, measuring every metre?"

Sharon had also complained, according to one source, that he was being enveloped in a cloud of suspicion by his fellow ministers — "and because I'm minister of defence, that's harmful to the army's morale." It was then, the source said, that he admitted he wanted to cross the Beirut-Damascus highway and occupy Beirut. Sharon later denied making such statements, a statement which lowered his credibility even more, the source asserted.

QUESTIONED on the relationship between the Premier and Sharon, the source said Begin let the defence minister carry the buck and kept silent at such times. But it was apparent that he was in control all the time.

The source disagreed with the theory that Sharon had twisted Begin's arm into letting him forge ahead beyond the original 40 km. limit, which Begin had enunciated in his Knesset letter to Reagan and in his statement.

Indeed, it was pointed out to me, whenever Begin put his foot down, as in stopping Sharon from sending

the army into Beirut or across the highway, Sharon immediately did as he was told.

Sharon had argued from the start that unless all the terrorist strongholds, including those inside Beirut, were destroyed, the Lebanese government would be unable to reassert its authority, which was the underlying aim of the operation. This was after the three dissenting ministers — Zipori, Berman and Hammer — raised the question of Sharon's grand design, with Berman wondering whether Begin and Sharon wished to create a situation in Lebanon before August's presidential elections there.

It was untrue, *The Post* was assured, that anyone, either Begin or Sharon, advocated imposing rule by the Phalange over Lebanon. Indeed, cabinet sources said that there had been no collaboration at all with the Maronites whatsoever.

The sources reported an argument between Begin and Sharon during a discussion on a new order in Lebanon. Interpreting the two leaders' words, the source said it was clear that Begin wanted the U.S. to play the decisive role in a "Pax Americana," while Sharon envisioned Israeli domination of the Lebanese scene.

SYRIAN INFLEXIBILITY kept the war going for 30 hours, according to the sources. Begin had been ready to take up President Reagan's plea for a cease-fire on Thursday at 6 a.m., while Sharon wanted it to take effect at 6 p.m. Neither view was accepted, because Syrian President Hafez Assad told U.S. envoy Philip Habib, that the PLO would have to be dealt with directly, to which neither the U.S. nor Israel would agree.

The cabinet sources doubted whether the Americans would allow Israel to keep its army stationed in Lebanon for more than a month. They hoped that the Americans would assist Israel in carrying the tremendous cost of the temporary occupation. As to covering the war's cost, the billions of shekels would be covered by new taxes and similar fiscal measures, the sources said.



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## FOCUS

Monday, June 14, 1982 The Jerusalem Post Page Six



At left, King Khalid; at right, King Fahd

# Kingdom changes hands

THE transition of power in oil-rich Saudi Arabia appeared to be proceeding smoothly yesterday. When King Khalid died yesterday morning of a massive heart attack, it was not an entirely unexpected event. At 69, Khalid had a long history of heart trouble, and had undergone open heart surgery twice in the U.S.

Powerful Crown Prince Fahd, 60, the man who ran day-to-day government affairs, was immediately proclaimed the new king. The National Guard commander, Prince Abdullah, became the crown prince.

The transition of power was running with clockwork precision, in contrast with the chaos and rumoured differences that accompanied the 1975 assassination of the late King Faisal.

Faisal was assassinated by a dagger-wielding prince, said to have been mentally deranged and subsequently beheaded.

The Saudi royal family council met before Khalid's death, it was announced, to vow traditional allegiance to the new king.

Tradition also calls for tribal chieftains and Saudis to swear allegiance to the new ruler, a ceremony that was scheduled for this morning.

The new ruler, King Fahd, has effectively governed the oil kingdom for years because of King Khalid's ill health.

A friend of the West and a proponent of moderate oil price policies, he is also a strong supporter of the PLO.

Like the late King Khalid, Fahd is one of the 36 sons of Saudi Arabia's founder, King Abdulaziz Ibn Saud.

He had been crown prince and first deputy prime minister since 1975, when Khalid ascended the throne.

He has a reputation for dynamism and has held a succession of senior government jobs since 1962, when he was interior minister.

Fahd is a regular visitor to the West, and in 1974 signed an important economic and military cooperation agreement with the U.S.

He has been at the forefront of efforts by Saudi Arabia, as the largest oil exporter, to prevent oil price increases causing damage to the world economy.

He is on record as saying that Saudi Arabia would continue its moderate policies, while pointing out that it is only one of 13 members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

"Certainly, we intend to make sure that the consumer is the one who should benefit from the moderate price of oil, and not the oil companies," he said.

His strategy was demonstrated recently when Saudi Arabia varied its oil production capacity, first to bring down higher oil prices and then to defend the current basic OPEC price of \$34 a barrel to stabilize the oil market.

Fahd has often said that Saudi Arabia is not interested in forcing economic ruin on Europe through the cost of oil.

"We want Europe to be prosperous," he told the French magazine *L'Express*. "If it becomes poor, if it falls into disorder, we will lose as much as it does."

Last year, he produced a Middle East peace plan which implicitly recognized Israel; it ran into opposition, however, from radical Arab states.

WESTERN diplomats in Jeddah were impressed with how fast the Saudi royal family handled the succession and attributed this to awareness of the need for a smooth transition.

One diplomat said he expected the royal cabinet and leading family members to meet last night and today to decide on the more practical aspects, such as who will succeed Abdullah as head of the powerful National Guard, who else moves up and any ministerial changes.

Barring unexpected developments, Fahd was expected to maintain the generally moderate Saudi policies on the Middle East and Saudi Arabia's close relations with the West.

But he is assuming the helm of power at a very crucial time, with the political aftermath of Israel's invasion of Lebanon fuelling hardline Arab calls on conservative Arab regimes to exert economic pressure on U.S. and Western interests. The battlefield victories of Iran in its war with Iraq, and Iran's threats of exporting its fundamentalist revolution to neighbouring Gulf states, pose another headache.

Fahd has said that he would introduce next month a system of "Islamic democracy" in the kingdom, whereby a select group of advisers would have some role in decision-making. "Any ruler who believes he can take decisions alone is arrogant," Fahd has said.

THE NEW king is widely believed to be bent on using his country's vast oil resources to buy U.S. and European support for the Arab cause against Israel.

"Fahd is a leader with daring political initiative, and his great oil wealth lends his policies strong muscles," said one Arab diplomat, who requested anonymity. "If peace prevailed in the Middle East, Fahd would easily emerge as the undisputed leader of the Arab world."

Sources close to Fahd, contacted by telephone, said they expected no change in Saudi Arabia's internal and external policies, since Fahd has been the real power in the kingdom since 1975. Khalid had given him a free hand in running affairs of state.

The tall, husky monarch started his political career in 1958, when he initiated an ambitious plan for spreading education in remote desert regions of the vast kingdom. King Saud at the time gave him the education portfolio. Fahd accelerated a daring programme to introduce education of young women throughout the kingdom, precipitating strong opposition from conservative tribes.

His characteristic Beduin guile prompted him to side with his half-brother Faisal in a power struggle against then King Saud. This enabled Faisal to topple Saud and win an oath of fealty from the royal family and tribal chiefs as monarch.

Subsequently, Faisal named Fahd interior minister. A year later, Fahd so impressed Faisal that he promoted him to the sensitive position of second deputy prime minister.

(In Saudi Arabia, the king doubles as prime minister and the crown prince is his first deputy prime minister.)

Fahd is the eldest of a group of brothers known as the "Sudairi Seven," named after the tribe of their mother who was the daughter of an outspoken chieftain of the Sudairi clan.

The Sudairi Seven constitute the

real power within the Saudi Arabian royal family, which comprises more than 5,000 princes and princesses, all descendants of the late King Abdel-Aziz, who founded the Saudi monarchy more than half a century ago.

The Sudairi Seven are full brothers. They include Defence Minister Prince Sultan; Interior Minister Prince Nayef; Riyadh Governor Prince Salman; and Princes Sattam, Turki and Ahmed. The seventh prince, also called Turki, died in 1919.

"Fahd has an innate suspicion of university doctorate degrees and prefers men with experience," an in-law of Fahd once said. "He appreciates good performance and generously rewards efficient men."

A tireless worker, Fahd is said to spend an average of 12 to 15 hours a day at his office, where he receives cabinet ministers, foreign guests and civil servants.

THE LATE King was a man of simple Beduin tastes, who was thrust to the fore as leader of a kingdom awash in oil beneath its desert sands. He never abandoned a tribal tradition that allowed even the most modest of his subjects to meet him personally and discuss a grievance or make a request.

Born in 1913, Khalid was said to be a very religious man. He received his education from religious scholars in Riyadh, never schooled abroad, and participated in several military campaigns under his father, Abdul Aziz, during the Saudi unification drive early this century.

He was governor of Meccah emirate after World War Two, but played only a minor role in state affairs, while keeping in close contact with desert tribal sheikhs.

Khalid was named deputy prime minister in 1962 during the reign of his brother Saud. He maintained this position under Faisal when Saud was deposed in 1964.

At Faisal's suggestion, Khalid was named crown prince in 1965, possibly only because Mohammed, the eldest brother, renounced the throne.

Khalid maintained a low-key role up to Faisal's death and was most effective as Faisal's adviser on tribal affairs. (AP, UPI, Reuters)

quoted as such while other weapons in use by the Argentinian armed forces — far more numerous and deadlier — originating in other countries, including Britain, are referred to as if they had some local source?

How does one account for the manner in which the same prominence is given — in a recent question raised in an important debate — to the earth-shaking issue of whether or not Israel "is supplying ammunition to the Argentinians" as to such matters as an expression of admiration for the forces which recaptured South Georgia? The need for more information on the situation and the importance of all-party discussion? A reference to alleged Israeli ammunition supplies alongside such a distinguished string of queries would be just as odd even if it had any basis in fact — which it does not.

WHY — to repeat an old and battered refrain — why pick on us? Why pick on us when we continue to restrain ourselves from doing — that in matters relating to arms supplies it is we who have so much cause for grievance. It is after all Israel which — since 1973 — has been on the receiving end of an arms-embargo while some of Israel's adversaries have been on the receiving end of some of the most sophisticated and lethal weapons produced.

Above all, why pick on us when there has been no reason known to us for casting such aspersions on our conduct? For the record's sake let me repeat yet again that which we have said time and again: Since the beginning of the South Atlantic crisis, Israel has been scrupulous in avoiding any involvement in it. This includes specifically the matter of arms supplies. All allegations and insinuations to the contrary are totally without foundation.

In saying this we do not wish, or need, to apologise for anything. We do so only for the record's sake and perhaps the vain hope of setting it straight now that it has been so unfairly and unjustly twisted. In the final analysis we do this in the defence of Israel against, among so many other things, also the threat of

## WHY PICK ON US?

Excerpts from an address delivered by Israel Ambassador Shlomo Argov to the British Society for the Blind at the London Hilton on May 17. It was the envoy's last public address before he was critically wounded in an assassination attempt by Arab terrorists on June 3.

These include — not as *The Times* suggests — a claim to "total security" but to basic physical security — for state and people alike.

There has been no more flagrant violation of the UN Charter than the denial to Israel of this most elementary of rights by all those member-states of the United Nations who as they cynically cajole others to support their illicit resolutions against Israel — which *The Times* of this morning would have us heed — openly proclaim their right to unremitting war against it. When was the last time *The Times* or anyone else for that matter denounced this aggression? Aggression continuously committed against Israel over 34 years is no less compelling than one which is claimed to be in effect for some 40 days against others.

MUCH AS we have tried to keep a discreet distance from the South Atlantic crisis, we have not been allowed to be exempted from it. As most of you may have noticed, the media have repeatedly made critical references to alleged Israeli arms sales. Various efforts that we have made in order to put paid to these allegations, which I wish to emphasize once again are completely without foundation, have been less than successful. The insinuations somehow continue to persist.

Indeed, even when an implement of war used in this conflict was very clearly not of Israeli manufacture, it was suggested that at the very least the training of the party involved in the use of that implement of war

day May 9, the *Sunday Times* in an "insight" report on the lethal qualities of a non-Israeli missile by the name of "Exocet" had this to say:

"If the Argentinians were not trained by the French before the conflict started, who has taught them? There are several countries with the knowhow but the most likely is Israel."

Within two days a sister-paper of the *Sunday Times* gave the lie to this allegation. Quoting an "authoritative source" *The Times* of May 11 inter alia said:

"...they (the Argentinians) are no fools; they did it themselves." The trouble is that while the first report, which cited Israel specifically, was printed on the front page of the *Sunday Times*, the second report which amounted to a dismissal of these allegations appeared in and inside page of *The Times* — where it may well belong. As a result, the impression that must continue to linger in the public mind is the incriminating one created by the front-page story of the *Sunday Times*.

THIS EPISODE and others like it raise some questions:

Why, when mentioning "several countries" with a knowledge in the use of the "Exocet" missile, was Israel the only one cited by name — especially when there was not the slightest logical or factual basis for this charge?

Why, when countering and assessing the various arms and weapon-systems in the Argentinian arsenal, are those of Israeli



Mikhail Agursky examines the possible effects of the Lebanon conflict on Israel/Soviet relations

# A new view in the Kremlin

ONE TRULY surprising effect of the war in Lebanon — and one which could have decisive consequences for the future of the region — was the Soviet reaction to it. Moscow observed the PLO disaster with almost complete indifference.

The war was accorded very low priority in the Soviet media. Indeed, on the third day of the war, Lebanon was relegated to second place on the English-language broadcasts of Radio Moscow — and events were reported without any dramatization. There were no hysterical appeals to international public opinion; no campaign of protest was launched by the huge Soviet propaganda machine. To be sure, Israeli actions were labelled as aggression, but with no practical implications.

On the fourth day, Lebanon was relegated to fifth place, after several marginal international events. The Soviet radio simply informed its overseas listeners that Palestinians, Lebanese and Syrians were retreating before the superior Israeli military force. It reported the military situation more or less accurately — with only one conspicuous exception: military operations in the Lebanese valley were not mentioned at all.

After the attack against the Syrian missiles in the Bek'a Valley, and after the first air battle there, Lebanon was given first place in Soviet news bulletins, but the coverage was intentionally underplayed. Neither the destruction of the missile system nor the air battles were mentioned. There were no dramatic appeals, no theatrical protests.

On Friday, the Soviet radio reported only that Lebanese President Elias Sarkis, had condemned the U.S. for supporting Israel and also broadcast a credible report about the Beirut battle. On Saturday, the radio reported the Beirut battle, without mentioning the cease-fire with Syria.

In contrast to its English-language broadcast, the Russian-language overseas broadcasts reported that the IDF had not been able to achieve a decisive breakthrough in the Beirut battle and that the PLO had sunk an Israeli naval vessel. No escalation of propaganda was observed here either.

THE SOVIET approach was indeed striking. In all of Israel's previous wars — and in many minor operations against the PLO — the Soviet Union would make apocalyptic pronouncements on the destiny of Israel. Mass demonstrations were usually staged (in 1956, I had to participate in one such demonstration at the Egyptian Embassy in Moscow), and all public organizations in the Soviet Union were required to join such demonstrations. Also in the past, the Soviet fleet made threatening moves even before military operations began.

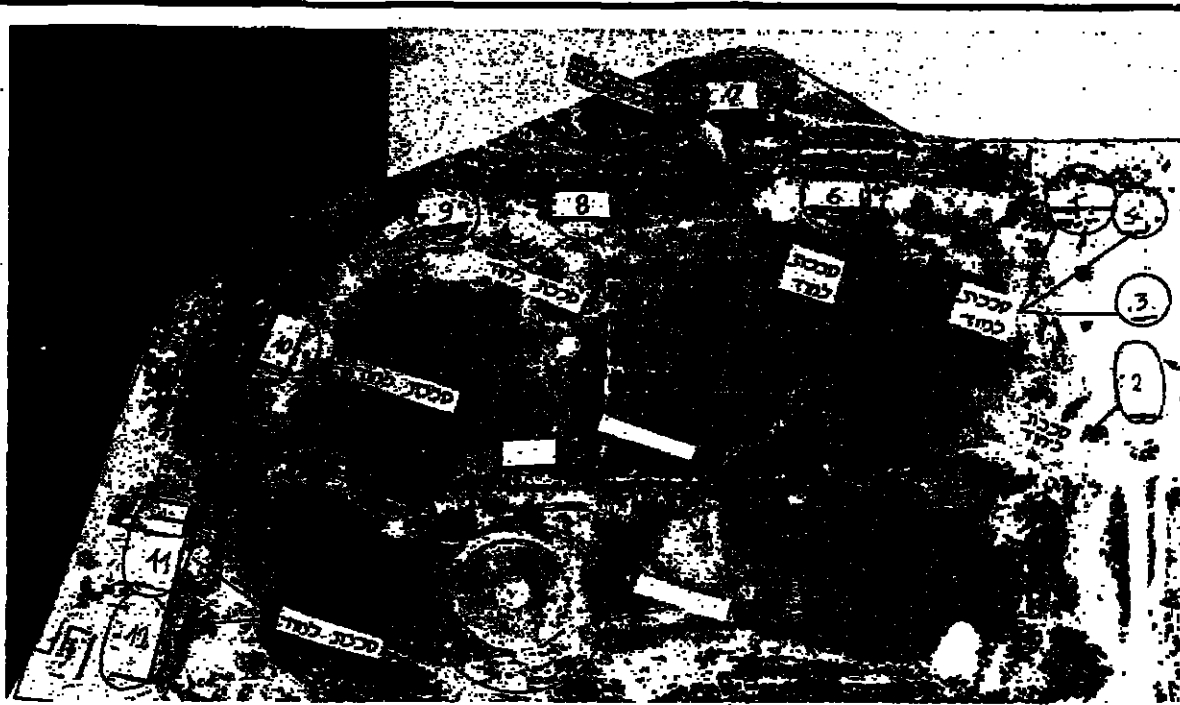
Nothing of the sort happened last week. The only resemblance to past behaviour was a very abstract condemnation from the Soviet news agency Tass. It said, for example, that Israel would pay a heavy price for the operation. But such a statement is little more than common sense: Israel does pay a heavy price.

All this while the PLO — which enjoys great favour in Moscow and which is an integral part of Soviet diplomacy in the Middle East — was being mercilessly destroyed by the IDF. Even though it was clear on the third day of Israel's military operations that the PLO was suffering a crushing defeat, the Soviets made no move to defend the PLO. Brezhnev sent a letter of support to Arafat, who was hiding in a Beirut bunker, but in the context of what was happening, such a gesture was little more than a macabre joke.



PLO prisoners captured in Lebanon offensive.

(IPPA)



Above: Aerial view of PLO training camps in Beirut; below: after raids by Israel Air Force.

(IDF)



WHY DID the Russians behave in this way? I do not believe that the Soviet behaviour can be explained in terms of previous Soviet behaviour. There is clearly something radically new.

One explanation could be that the Soviets have changed their Middle East policy and would welcome the decline of the PLO, while not themselves changing their basically hostile attitude to Israel.

According to some observers, the death of Soviet ideologue Mikhail Suslov and the rise of former KGB head Yuri Andropov signalled the victory of an isolationist Soviet political group, which is known as "the Russian Party." And only a few days ago, a Montreal newspaper claimed that Andropov himself was the leader of this "party."

Indeed, the Soviet Union has recently made several important moves to bring under control some of its most harmful international conflicts, like its confrontation with the Chinese, to whom the Soviet Union has been making overtures. These moves are probably regarded by Andropov and his group as measures which will reduce the Soviet arms race and go some way towards healing the Soviet economy.

The PLO was uncontrollable and socially dangerous, and had nothing to do with the real Palestinian problem. It was always capable of

pushing the Soviet Union into a dangerous confrontation. Yet only six months ago, when Suslov was still alive, the PLO was regarded by him and his clique as a very valuable instrument of the Soviet expansionist policy, although even then there were signs of an opposition to the PLO among Soviet leaders.

Now, with apparently new priorities, the Soviet Union might have taken advantage of the situation to get rid of its former "favourite child." It is highly unlikely that any non-state organization, like the PLO, could play any role in Soviet policy towards the Middle East.

TWO WEEKS AGO an extremely interesting interview by former Soviet dissident Roy Medvedev was published in *The Jerusalem Post*. It is now apparent that Medvedev was somehow related to Andropov himself.

Asked what Israel should do to improve its relations with the Soviet Union, Medvedev gave a surprising answer: Nothing. Half measures would not satisfy the Soviet Union and the Soviet minimum demands would not be acceptable to Israel.

But, according to Medvedev, the situation would change in the future when the Israeli position vis-a-vis the Arab world became strengthened on the basis of its relations with Egypt.

It was highly unusual that he

made no mention of the PLO or the Palestinian problem. Was his interview perhaps the first public indication of one group within the Soviet leadership that wanted to get rid of the PLO? Even then they did not regard the PLO as a viable political option in the face of growing Israeli strength.

Medvedev is an unofficial spokesman. But Aleksandr Bovin, an influential Soviet political commentator, is an official spokesman of this group. Indeed Prof. Jerry Hough associated him recently in an article in *The Washington Post* with Andropov.

Several days ago, before the height of the war in Lebanon, Bovin published an article in the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* which demonstrated a very shrewd anticipation of the political developments in the Middle East.

According to Bovin, Israel is seeking a separate agreement with Lebanon along Camp David lines. Such an agreement, Bovin believes

would mean the end of Palestinian bases in Lebanon, and the Palestinians living there would be stripped of their refugee status.

The weakening of the PLO would also lead to Jordan being drawn into the Camp David network. Israel, according to Bovin, believes that the idea of an independent Palestinian state will disappear with the granting to Palestinians of an "ephemeral autonomy within a state of greater Israel."

Bovin displayed a very accurate reading of Israeli thinking. Indeed, if it were read in the context of the interview with Medvedev — who, by the way, appealed to Israel to strengthen its position — one could suspect that Bovin's article, despite its anti-Israeli context, was in fact nothing short of recommendations for Israel (incidentally Bovin visited Israel some time ago and he has probably played a role in forming the new Soviet approach to the Middle East).

In any event, Bovin can be as-

sured that the autonomy proposed for the Palestinians would far exceed the theoretical independence of any republic within the Soviet Union.

ALSO OF INTEREST to the Soviets is the fact that the Israeli victory has opened up a very real possibility of a peace agreement with Syria. Israel now has a unique opportunity, but it is necessary to avoid any humiliation of Syria.

A possible peace agreement with Syria should not arouse any fears in the Soviet Union that Moscow might be humiliated or harmed by such a peace.

On the contrary, peace between Israel and Syria could lead to the normalization of relations between Israel and the Soviet Union.

According to Medvedev, the process of normalization will probably take more than 10 years. But he, like many others, could not have anticipated such an impressive Israeli victory and all the implica-

tions that derive from it. Events may occur much more swiftly than had previously been thought possible.

Unfortunately, force is the only factor that is recognized and respected in international affairs. It is also a reasonable foundation for peace, despite the rosy aspirations of Israeli liberals.

The Soviet Union has always respected force in the determination of its foreign policy. With Israel having demonstrated that it is the dominant force in this area, possessing power much greater than that of other states in the region, the Soviets might be persuaded to reconsider their Middle East policy. Moscow also has good reason for re-evaluating its policy: it is experiencing its own Moslem demographic explosion.

Certainly Israel must do nothing to harm its relations with the United States. Israel must itself be a centre of power, balancing relations between the superpowers in this region.

The destiny of the Middle East will not now be decided either in Moscow or in Washington. The new Israeli position must not be used for any expansion, only for peace. Israel does not need a Pax Americana or a Pax Sovietica.

IT MIGHT appear paradoxical, but Israel's victory in Lebanon will have a profound impact on the Soviet Union's internal political life. It has completely discredited the Soviet ideological branch which created the PLO monster. For it was only through Soviet diplomatic and military support that the PLO achieved international standing, a position it has long used for blackmailing and intimidating the international community.

Just six months ago, a Soviet newspaper, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, published a full-page interview with Arafat, in which the PLO leader boasted of his invincibility, even in the face of Israel's military machine. That, too, fostered a dangerous illusion.

Another culprit is the Soviet military-industrial complex, which flooded the Third World with its military toys. These have now been utterly discredited in Lebanon.

ALL THIS will no doubt be effectively used by Andropov and his group to discredit the Soviet military-industrial complex, which is the committed enemy of his clique. All those who might be regarded as being responsible for the Soviet Air Force and for Soviet military electronics will stand accused of most serious negligence.

The political struggle in the Soviet Union is by no means over, but it is perfectly clear that Israel's soldiers not only defended their own country but have had an enormous influence on Soviet political life in a way that will be extremely beneficial.

Their victory might well prove to be a decisive step in the historic reconciliation between Israel and Russia. And I suspect that the IDF has sufficiently valuable prisoners of war to ensure a quick release of all Soviet Jews now imprisoned in the Soviet Union.

The writer is a member of the Soviet and East European Research Centre at the Hebrew University.

## U.S. tribute to pilots

By RICHARD C. GROSS/Washington

U.S. MILITARY ANALYSTS say Israel's military success in Lebanon was largely due to advanced U.S. warplanes, their missiles, built-in packages of electronic gear and superbly trained pilots.

U.S. intelligence sources said Israeli planes shot down 60 Syrian aircraft of all types, including helicopters, up to the time of the cease-fire on Friday. Most of the downed planes were older MIG-21s.

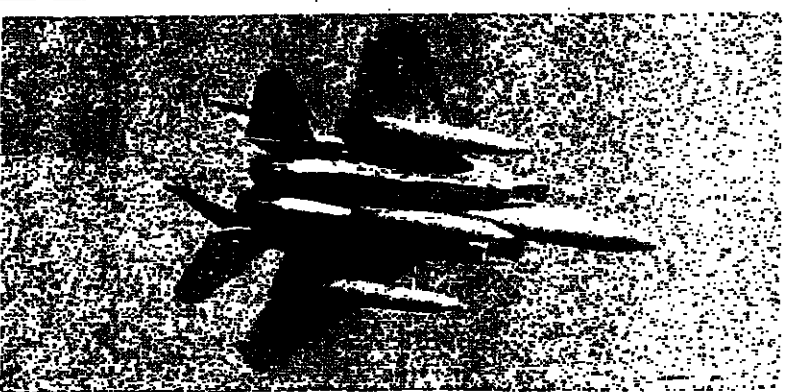
Israel said it lost one plane early in the operation, an older general U.S.-built A-4 Skyhawk.

"It's just amazing," said one senior Pentagon official, a former pilot. "I would have thought there would have been losses at least from accidents, but there weren't any."

Syrian pilots proved no match for their Israeli counterparts in the newest F-15s and F-16s, although senior Pentagon officials said the Soviet-built MIGs they fly perform well.

"It was a result of the superb training that Israeli pilots undergo and the American equipment, which is superior," one official said. "You can't just look at the technology. You have to look at the pilots."

As for the equipment, the fighting gave Israel the first real opportunity to bring all of the components of its highly advanced air power together on a sustained basis, including its relatively new F-15 and F-16 fighters. And it provided the U.S.



with its first real chance to watch all the high technology gear tested in combat.

Israel has packed converted Boeing-707 jetliners with electronic counter-measures designed to confuse radar signals from deadly Soviet-built anti-aircraft SAM-6 batteries fielded by the Syrians in eastern Lebanon.

The counter-measures apparently worked, because Israel knocked out about two dozen batteries without losing a plane. SAM-6s can blow a plane out of the sky at up to 18,000 metres.

Just what the Israelis used in their attacks on the SAM sites is not known. But included in their inventory are the latest American-made television-guided Maverick missiles, Walleye bombs and Shrike missiles that home in on the radiation emitted by radar transmitters.

Further, "Wild Weasel" radar-jamming equipment is aboard the F-4 Phantom, monitored by the "back seater" behind the pilot. A device in the cockpit tells the pilot when an enemy's missile radar has locked onto his plane, giving him time to take evasive measures.

For dogfights, Israel has four Hawkeyes, the poor man's version of the AWACS recently sold to Saudi Arabia. The Navy uses the Hawkeye for fleet defence.

Israel has the newest U.S. side-winder AIM-9L and the latest Sparrow AIM-7 air-to-air missiles, as well as its own Shafrir, hung from the wings of the Israeli-made Kfir C-2 fighters.

The Sparrow has a range of between 50 km. and 100 km., and Israel ordered 170 of them in August 1978 for \$24.2m.

(United Press International)

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM  
The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations

## Conventional Conflicts in a Nuclear Age

The Annual International Conference  
June 20-22, 1982  
PROGRAM

Sessions Open to the Public

The Conference will be held at the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation, 43 Jabotinsky St., Jerusalem  
In Cooperation with the American Cultural Center, Jerusalem

SUNDAY, JUNE 20  
9.00 a.m.-1.00 p.m.: Morning Session

Chairman  
SIMCHA DINITZ, Vice-President, Hebrew University.

DAN HOROWITZ, Director,  
The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Hebrew University.

Opening Statement  
GRAHAM ALLISON, Dean,  
John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Reflections on the relevance of the central nuclear balance.

RICHARD K. BETTS,  
Foreign Policy Studies Program, The Brookings Institution, Washington.

Choices in design of forces.

MARTIN VAN CREVELD, Department of History, Hebrew University.

Command, control and communication

3.00-6.00 p.m.: Afternoon Session

Chairman  
YOSEF YAHAV, Dean of Social Science Faculty, Hebrew University.

E.R. ZUMWALT, Jr., Admiral, U.S. Navy (ret).

Conventional conflicts in the Middle East in the era of Soviet strategic nuclear superiority

J. OWEN ZURHELLEN, Jr.,  
Ambassador of the United States of America (ret.), College of New Rochelle.

Critical comments

ROBERT W. TUCKER,  
Department of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University.

The role of defence in the Reagan Administration's foreign policy.

Dr. YEHUDA BEN MEIR,  
Member of Knesset, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

MONDAY, JUNE 21  
9.00 a.m.-1.00 p.m.: Morning Session

Chairman  
AVI SCHIFFRIN, Director, The Truman Institute, Hebrew University.

AMNON SELA, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University.

Soviet attitudes to conventional conflicts

JOHNATHAN ALFORD, Deputy Director,  
The International Institute for Strategic Studies, London

Falkland Islands: the limited use of limited power.

TIMOTHY M. SHAW,  
Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University, Halifax.

Conventional conflicts in Africa

D. KATETE ORWA, Department of Government, University of Nairobi.

Conventional conflicts in East Africa and the presence of superpowers

3.00-6.00 p.m.: Afternoon Session

Chairman  
GABRIEL SHEFFER,  
The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Hebrew University

ROBERT E. OSGOOD,  
School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University

The American problem of supporting containment with conventional capabilities

SAMUEL F. WELLS, Jr. Director,  
International Security Studies Program, The Wilson Center, Washington.

Constraints in conventional wars

Congressman CHARLES WILSON, United States Congress.

What is new in conventional warfare: lessons of the 1980s

TUESDAY, JUNE 22  
9.00 a.m.-1.00 p.m.: Morning Session

Chairman  
BERNARD CHERRICK, Vice-President, Hebrew University

ALAN DOWDY,  
Department of Government and International Studies, University of Notre Dame, Indiana

U.S. decision-making in Middle East crises

SHLOMO ARONSON, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University

The Yom Kippur War: limits of covert nuclear threats.

YAIR EVRON, Department of Political Science, Tel Aviv University

Perspectives on the 1973 war

3.00-6.00 p.m.: Final Session

Chairman  
SHLOMO AVINERI, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University

Panel Discussion

Prospects of a resolution of the Arab Israeli conflict

DAN HOROWITZ, Director,  
The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Hebrew University.

SIMCHA DINITZ, Vice-President, Hebrew University.

SAMUEL W. LEWIS, The Ambassador of the United States of America.

YITZHAK RABIN, Member of Knesset











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Sivan 23, 5742 • Sha'ban 22, 1402

## New order for Lebanon

THE CEASE-FIRE in Lebanon appears to be holding well in the east, with the Syrians, but in the west, with the PLO terrorists, fierce fighting erupted again yesterday. Nevertheless, the threat of a total breakdown does not appear to be likely, in view of increasing American pressure to stop the fighting in the Beirut area as well. Although an actual withdrawal of Israel's forces of occupation is not yet in the offing, it is time to give earnest attention to the terms of an eventual pullback.

Yesterday the cabinet devoted its attention to the issue, and the outline of an Israeli programme was agreed upon, reflecting the triumph of Israeli arms in last week's fighting. This was later submitted to U.S. envoy Philip Habib.

Israel's minimal condition, as originally stated, is to remove the direct threat to the Galilee settlements. But the larger purpose now is to interdict all terrorist bases throughout Lebanon, regardless of distance from the border. Israel would not recall its troops home unless it is assured that the PLO's infrastructure is never rebuilt.

Moreover, Israel would seek the complete removal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, meaning not only the terrorists but the Syrians as well. Israel would welcome the stationing of a multinational force, including U.S. troops, in Lebanon to oversee the country's pacification. It takes a dim view, however, of a force under the aegis of the UN, which would be open to meddling by the Soviets.

As a basis for negotiation, this does not seem too maximal a programme. Plainly it would be thrashed out between Israel and the U.S. in the coming weeks, starting with the meeting between Premier Begin and President Reagan in Washington next week. American sympathy for its general tenor may already be assured. Nevertheless it need not be treated as anything more than a basis for negotiation.

That Israel is entitled to peace on its northern border requires no demonstration. For many years Lebanon was widely believed to be second in line for the signing of a formal peace with Israel. That likelihood was, however, considerably reduced with the removal of the PLO from Jordan into Lebanon in 1970.

Lebanon became a plaything of the Palestinian terrorists — and later also into a satrapy of Syria, which ironically entered the country to rescue the minority Christians from the murderous coalition of the PLO and the Moslem leftists. For practical purposes, Lebanon has as a result ceased to be a sovereign, independent state. It has become in large measure a mere springboard for Syrian-protected PLO aggression against Israel.

Since there is no chance that Israel could play Syria's role in Lebanon in reverse, it is clear that the resurrection of Lebanon's sovereignty is ultimately the prime condition of the reestablishment of a secure peace on Israel's northern border. But this is a pretty tall order. For one thing it would require a major effort of national reconciliation among the Lebanese themselves.

Besides, it would entail the dissolution of the several private armies, including those of Major Sa'ad Haddad in the south and the Phalanges in the north.

A sense of realism may alone have induced the government yesterday to slide over this larger theme in its agenda for the pacification of Lebanon. Instead, it focused on the twin major causes of Lebanon's discontent, the Syrians and the PLO.

The severe beating which Syria's vaunted, largely Soviet-made military prowess took in the Bek'a last week should itself help reduce the Damascus hold on Beirut. But it would take nothing less than an express bid by the Lebanese government to get the Syrians out of their strategic areas in Lebanon — and for the time being President Assad can dictate terms to President Sarkis.

To the powers-that-be — such as they are — in Beirut, the Syrians may still appear as the guarantors of at least a semblance of political cohesion for Lebanon.

The PLO, for its part, sustained a most grievous blow in the fighting, from which it would have, in the best of circumstances, great trouble recovering. This, then, would seem to be the time to finish it off. But the PLO derives much of its strength from the presence in Lebanon of a refugee community of some 400,000 Palestinians. Mostly Moslem, they have helped tilt Lebanon's demographic balance against the Christians. The latter have long wanted them out of the country.

But where could they go? Their resettlement could only be arranged within the framework of a comprehensive solution of the Palestinian problem. This in turn would provide the setting for the effective suppression of the PLO.

The government, however, operates on the assumption that the suppression of the PLO, in Lebanon, will itself lead to a solution of the Palestinian problem. It would bring about an end to terror, in the Galilee and elsewhere — not least in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, where the people would finally come to their senses, and cooperate with Israel in implementing an Israel-style autonomy.

This does not appear to be a very realistic expectation.

# The next steps

By CHAIM HERZOG, MK

ISRAEL IS NOW faced with two major problems. It must ensure that Operation Peace for Galilee really does bring peace to its northern border. And it must deal with the effect on world opinion of the enormous loss of civilian life and property wrought by the operation along the Lebanese coast.

It is unrealistic to expect that the original aims of the advance into Lebanon — to assure that the Land of the Cedar cannot again become a base for attack on the Galilee — can be implemented without examining the political implications, inside Lebanon, of the Israeli action. While it is accurate to say that Israel cannot dictate political conditions in Lebanon, it is equally correct to assert that Israel would be unrealistic were it not, at this stage, to try to influence political developments there.

Israeli interests, as well as those of the Syrians, must certainly be taken into account when future developments in Lebanon are considered.

ONE CAN EASILY point to the fact that the world remained silent during the past seven years as Lebanon was torn apart by a brutal civil war. But for one reason or another, different standards are expected of Israel, and the innate human reaction of the troops who were interviewed on television must be a source of pride to every Israeli.

Questions will be asked in Israel and abroad, and these questions cannot just be brushed aside.

The prime purpose of the bombing was to protect our own troops, but it can only be justified if it is proved that it did hold down Israeli casualties. This question will certainly prove a challenge to the government and those who explain its policies abroad.

As negotiations get under way, it would seem most logical today to encourage Lebanese central and local authorities to take control of, and to run, those areas of Lebanon which are occupied by Israeli troops, while placing at their disposal all possible support and aid.

While Israel has a duty under international law to apply military government in the areas occupied, there should be a minimum of such administration. The main purpose of the military governors should not be to establish an administration, but to help to re-establish the Lebanese administration at all levels.

This situation can bring a rapid degree of normalization along the Israel-Lebanon border.

THUS, THE MOST logical, and incidentally the easiest, task of the Israeli forces in Lebanon today must be to restore authority to all levels of Lebanese government and official Lebanese forces, while assuring that the PLO cannot pursue its disruptive role any more.

Israeli negotiators must also take care that the conditions do not allow the PLO to resume its activities in the southern half of Lebanon. But it is unrealistic to assume that such a purpose can be isolated entirely from the political realities in Lebanon. That means that Israel, if it wishes to ensure the demilitarization of the 40 km. area, must reach an understanding with the Lebanese government.

This should not be impossible, since Israeli troops do hold 1,500 sq. km. of Lebanese territory.

Then there is the question of what military force will replace the Israeli Defence Forces in order to ensure the demilitarization of the 40 km. zone. There has been much facile

talk about extending UNIFIL, a UN force which, as such, has drawbacks.

In fairness, it should be said that it performed a very useful function, and indeed, the terrorists did not fire at Israeli territory from UNIFIL-controlled territory. But UNIFIL's mandate was limited. Its terms of reference were sorely weakened already in 1978 by the UN Security Council, because of Arab and Communist pressure.

UNIFIL EXISTS at the pleasure of the Security Council, and its mandate is renewed every six months. This is a built-in weakness.

An international force in Lebanon will have to remain in that country for a considerable period of time. It will have to take over as the Israel Defence Forces are phased out. It will have to participate actively in the creation of a credible Lebanese force — a task which is bound to take years — and it will have to act as an international guarantee of an independent Lebanese government.

Therefore it seems that the model of the multi-national force in Sinai is much more valid in the Lebanese situation.

All this, however, on condition — as is the case in Sinai — that the principal component will be an American force, backed by contingents from other friendly countries such as France, which has a special relationship with Lebanon.

THE PLO has certainly been weakened. Its actual losses, and above all the loss of its military infrastructure, has put it back several years; its influence and its effect in Lebanon have been lessened considerably.

Many in the West Bank and Gaza

## Dry Bones



can direct their wrath and feelings of frustration in the direction of the Arab governments. But once again one sees the tragedy of the Palestinian Arabs unravelling itself. It does not dawn on them that the PLO is loathed not only in Israel but also in the Arab world, and this came to full expression in Lebanon last week.

The Arab world may have been unhappy with development in Lebanon, but was not unhappy with the eclipse of the PLO. A major disruptive element in the Arab world itself has been weakened. Once again, the Palestinians have refused to accept less than 100 per cent; they have refused to entertain compromise; they have put Israel's resolve to the test and have emerged the losers, attempting as

always to regain the position they have just lost through their own folly and inflexibility.

This new situation reduces the PLO's influence in the West Bank and Gaza. The removal of the derring cloud of the PLO may allow the Palestinian Arabs finally to develop a dialogue, and to examine solutions, including that of autonomy, openly and with less fear.

The political opportunities are all too evident. One can hope that the political wisdom in Israel, in the U.S. and elsewhere, will take advantage of the opportunities as they evidence themselves.

The writer is a former head of Israel's military intelligence and ambassador to the UN. He is now a Labour Party MK.

## READERS' LETTERS

### THE NEGEV AIR BASES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — It was with sadness and distress that I read Howard Nagle's letter of June 4 about the Negev air bases, not only because of the contents, but mainly because it reflects a breakdown in relationship and an atmosphere sufficiently unhealthy to generate such angry feelings.

Recent articles in *The Military Engineer* by Corps of Engineers personnel bear witness to their satisfaction at the organization and execution of the air bases' construction, which will surely be included in text books of military engineering for a long while to come.

It is a pity that Mr. Nagle has allowed himself to become upset and angered by peripheral remarks from people who either did not appreciate what was being accomplished, or were suffering from sour grapes because they were not sufficiently involved. He would have derived satisfaction, had he made contact with the responsible Israeli suppliers, who made extraordinary efforts to comply with specifications in unfamiliar language and still met stringent schedules which helped substantially in maintaining the overall timetable. They certainly did not belittle the quality control operations and were appreciative of the help and incentive to improve their efficiency.

If Mr. Nagle had commented that organizational capability and mobilization capacity are lagging in Israel as compared to the U.S., he would have been nearer the truth. But it is patently ridiculous to contend that standards are light years behind.

Quality control was very strict, irrespective of source of supply. For a project of this nature, where coordination and speed of execution were paramount, the rejections were really fractional and invariably for incorrect measurements rather than poor materials or workmanship.

It was my pleasure and privilege to work with (and not against) the local suppliers, and I can only say that it was never necessary to remind an Israeli manufacturer that his own children or grandchildren could conceivably be doing their military service at Ramon, in order to ensure the best possible workmanship.

At the official handing-over ceremony, only the first speaker made a brief statement in English. The remainder confined their remarks to Hebrew, with presumably a contemporaneous translation for the expatriates. Mention was made that, "from a strategic point of view," the new bases were inferior to the old ones. From the bitter comments of my American colleagues on the following day, it seemed that the above phrase, in quotes, was omitted from the translation.

Whilst I too was often involved in specious arguments that the Israelis could have done the job themselves, I never seriously encountered the contention that the quality could have been better.

For my part, I too was proud to be associated with this project and my relations, both with my American and Portuguese colleagues on the one hand, and with the Israeli suppliers on the other hand, were friendly and more cordial than in any of my previous activities. I am truly heartsore that Mr. Nagle is leaving with bitter feelings after having done such a magnificent job of work.

REUBEN JOFFE, Civil Engineer

Savyon.

### PENFRIENDS

ROD SKINNER (29), of 13 Augusta Road, Regent's Park, Johannesburg, South Africa, is planning to convert to the Jewish faith and immigrate to Israel. He would like to correspond with Israelis in order to learn more about our country.

### INFERTILITY AND ADOPTION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I am writing in regard to the recent discussion in your columns about infertility and adoption. I must disagree with Aviva Lion of the Adoption Service when she states that a couple is not ready for adoption if it continues to pursue infertility treatment while seeking to adopt.

Perhaps my own experience (in the U.S.) can be illustrative. After several years of infertility, my spouse and I decided to begin the process of adoption. Our goal was to have a child and, after the anguish of infertility, we had come to the realization that the way in which the child joined the family was not nearly as important as the fact of his or her presence in our lives. For us, seeking to adopt while continuing treatment for infertility was a very positive step because it meant that, one way or another, sooner or later, we would become parents.

As it turned out, we did conceive a child who last month celebrated her first birthday, just two months after making aliyah. She is everything we had hoped for during those painful years of infertility, but I have no doubt that we would have felt exactly the same had she come to us by way of adoption.

By the way, our infertility delayed our aliyah by several years, or to be more precise, the adoption situation in Israel did. While we felt confident that medical expertise in Israel in the treatment of infertility compared favourably with that in the U.S., we knew that prospects for adoption here were bleak. So, in case adoption would prove our only avenue to parenthood, we remained in the U.S., where adoption alternatives are more numerous, until our fertility situation was resolved.

ANDREA, MARCK and Yael Avni Carmiel.

### THROWING ROCKS IN HOLLAND

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In an interview with Mrs. Geri Joseph (May 24), the former U.S. ambassador to the Netherlands is quoted as saying that riding in a bus that was pelted by melon-sized rocks when she passed through Jerusalem's Wadi Joz quarter on the way to Mount Scopus was a strange experience. Had Mrs. Joseph still been in Holland, this would not have been such a strange experience for her today.

The American Consulate General in Amsterdam was only reopened on May 26 after having been closed for two months, as demonstrators had pelted it with large rocks on several occasions and smashed all

its windows, because they accused the U.S. government of being responsible for the death of four members of a Dutch TV team in El Salvador.

The Dutch government has now agreed to pay for the damage to the U.S. Consulate-General in Amsterdam, which was estimated at about \$30,000. Moreover, the grounds of the building are now protected by iron trellis-work to prevent rocks from smashing windows again.

Though rocks are far less easy to come by in Holland than in Israel, those who really want to throw them usually manage to find them. HENRIETTE BOAS Badhoevedorp, Holland.

### NUCLEAR POWER

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — In his letter of June 2, Nigel Pollard states that locating a nuclear reactor underground, as I suggested to prevent dispersal of radioactivity by a bomb attack, is "completely uneconomic." There is no basis for his statement. Only the comparatively small volume of the vessel containing the nuclear core itself need be placed underground. In fact, this has already been done for several nuclear power stations, such as the one at Shippingport, Pa.

Mr. Pollard goes on to oppose conventional central power stations as well. Like all of us he would like to see our energy come from such sources as sun, wind, and waves. Unfortunately, despite vast research expenditures since the 1973 oil crisis, no practicable way of utilizing such sources for more than a small fraction of our energy needs has been found.

Numerous studies, as well as actual operating experience, continue to show that nuclear fission is the safest, cleanest, cheapest and most reliable way of generating power. But these are not the primary considerations for Israel. Here the alternative is to continue hauling huge tonnages of oil and coal over thousands of miles of ocean with obvious vulnerability to interruption by an enemy. Israel urgently needs nuclear power for energy independence and survival.

ALVIN RADKOWSKY, Professor of Nuclear Engineering, Tel Aviv University Tel Aviv.

## POSTSCRIPTS

THE EGYPTIAN boy-king Tutankhamun did not die a natural death but was in fact killed by a violent blow on his head, an Egyptian archaeologist has concluded. The Cairo newspaper *Al-Gomhouria* recently said this conclusion was reached by archaeologist Ahmed Abdel Hamid Youssef, director of the Egyptian antiquities registration centre. Youssef "has discovered a historical truth affirming that Tutankhamun was killed as a result of a violent blow on the back of his head," the newspaper said. Without explaining how this conclusion was

reached, the newspaper recalled that "anarchy and disturbances were prevalent in Egypt during Tutankhamun's reign as a result of the disintegration of the Egyptian empire." Tutankhamun, whose gold treasures made him the most famous of all pharaohs, ruled Egypt between about 1354 and 1345 BCE. When he died, he was not yet 20. Tutankhamun's tomb was discovered at the Valley of Kings near Luxor by Howard Carter in 1922. Some of its treasures, which escaped pillage for some 3,000 years, have been exhibited in America, Europe and Asia.

To Members of the Israel Orthodontics Society

The meeting scheduled for Friday, June 18, 1982, at the Ramat Aviv Hotel in Ramat Aviv

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